

METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

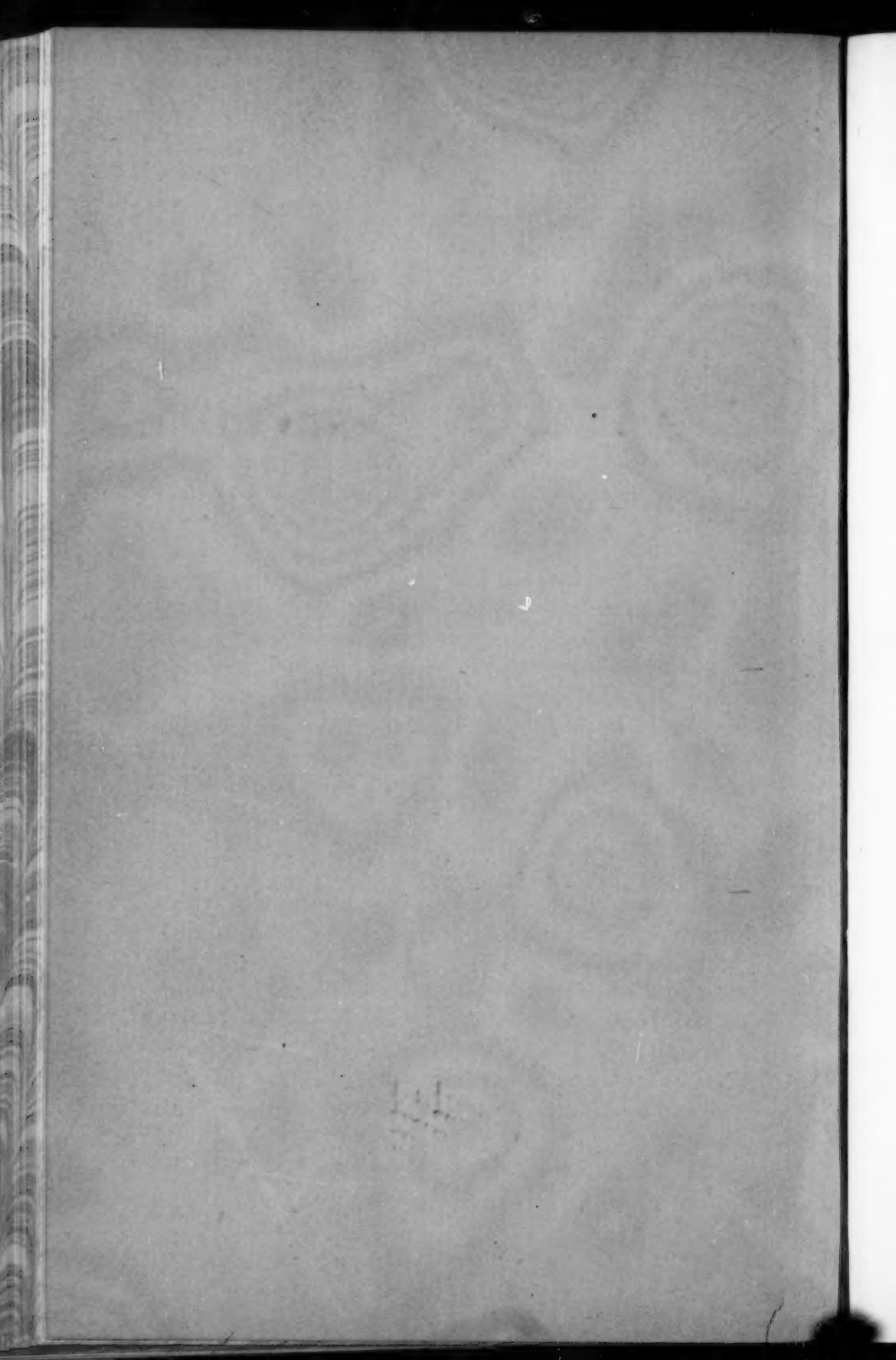
DANIEL CURRY, D.D., LL.D., Editor.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

NOVEMBER, 1885.

ART. I.—PHILIP WILLIAM OTTERBEIN.

The Life of Rev. Philip William Otterbein, Founder of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ. By Rev. A. B. DRURY, A.M. Dayton, Ohio. 1884.

PROBABLY we shall have to wait some time yet for a thoroughly satisfactory history of Christianity; one in which the growth of the Church, and the development of spiritual life begotten of faith in Christ in the various ecclesiastical organizations calling themselves Christian, are set forth in their proper relation to each other and to the divine purpose. But in this respect we are gaining greatly over our fathers. The later histories and biographies of the great men of the Church universal are written with a clearer apprehension of the divine immanence in the Church and in humanity. God was reconciling the world to himself in Christ; who, having accomplished his earthly mission, committed the reclamation of the world from Satan to the Holy Spirit operating through human instrumentality. Ye shall receive the power of the Holy Ghost coming upon you, said the ascending Lord. And so it was. The Christian Church as an institution among men, calling them to a life of holiness and service of Christ, began with the Pentecostal outpouring of the Holy Spirit. It has had no other source of spiritual life. The outward form of the visible Church has been subject to human and worldly influences, which have at times dominated and greatly depressed its spiritual life. For God is in the Church by the Holy Spirit, not as a power placed under the control and administration of ecclesiastical authority, but seeking a place in human hearts; willingly taking up his abode

with those who receive him gladly and submit to his quickening and sanctifying power. The presence and influence of the Holy Spirit we may confidently affirm has been continuous in the Church, although we may not be able to trace his course with exactness nor measure the force of his operations. Nor shall we find it profitable to attempt a description of his manifestations, so various are his methods and instruments. But his presence has been always and every-where a call to holy living and a protest against the formalism and worldliness into which the Church may have fallen. He seeks and prepares his instruments by the simplest means, and generally without a hint of what may be expected of their labors.

The revival of spiritual religion in the eighteenth century, of which organic Methodism was the chief product, was not the invention of those who became its leaders. It was neither a new search after doctrine nor an awakening interest in ecclesiastical questions, although these afterward came up for consideration. Their single aim was to love God with an undivided heart, and to render him the most faithful service by calling men to repentance and faith in Christ. It was a wonderful manifestation and development of a spiritual awakening, or revival of religion, which may be quite clearly traced into and beyond the previous century. The Holy Spirit was making himself felt with increasing power, and in places widely apart, as professing Christians submitted their hearts to his teachings, and suffered themselves to be guided into all righteousness by a more thorough study of the Holy Scriptures. The period was one of those transforming ones in the history of Christianity which do not fall in with the conjectures of human wisdom, when here and there the spiritual atmosphere becomes charged with a fuller sense of God's personality, and the need of holiness preparatory to a new outpouring of the Holy Spirit. The Wesleys, and their coadjutors and helpers, were chosen for this glorious work as ready and tractable instruments, and their work became the central and principal stream of spiritual influence that has made the nineteenth century memorable in the history of the Christian Church. The beginnings, which were in weakness, despised and ridiculed by those who counted themselves successors of the apostles, grew into a spiritual awakening that has produced the most wonderful restoration

of the spirit and practice of the apostolic times since the Church began to fall away from the purity and fervor of her first love.

Methodism found in the American colonies a more inviting field than elsewhere. For the doctrines of the Methodist preachers, to a greater extent than they perceived at first, were entirely in harmony with the feeling of independence and sense of individuality that was making itself felt in every part of the land. The new conditions, following upon the organization of a new civil society of like spirit and aims, allowed Methodism to put forth its full energy, and gave free play to the itinerant system. There were at the time of its entrance into this country not a few spiritually-minded preachers. Although Whitefield's preaching had made a considerable impression in some parts, its influence had largely died out. The people, however, were eager to hear evangelical preaching, and it produced in every part of the country the same effects that had been observed in England. And in the central and southern portions of the extended field which it began to occupy it came in contact with a few ministers and churches, especially in the German settlements, animated by a spirit and purpose so like its own that a strong and lasting bond of sympathy was established between them and the Methodist preachers. We refer particularly to the revival of religion that had slowly made its way against many obstacles in a few congregations of the German Reformed and Mennonite Churches, in several localities in Pennsylvania and Maryland. This revival is not to be traced to Methodism, but to independent operations of the Holy Spirit then active in both hemispheres. That the contact and example of Methodism and the personal relations of Asbury with Otterbein and Boehm, the leading spirits of this revival among the Germans, greatly influenced its development, will hardly be doubted.

The life of Otterbein and the history of the religious organization which grew out of this revival, furnish a striking illustration of God's method of carrying forward his work of saving the world. It has so many characteristics which remind one of the Wesleyan revival that it might be described as a lesser Methodism: the same in spirit, but not so far-reaching in thought or purposes. The publication, therefore, of a new

and more clear-sighted life of Otterbein, the founder of the "Church of the United Brethren in Christ," in the centennial year of the Methodist Episcopal Church, adds interest to our studies of the period.

From the beginning of their acquaintance, not only were Otterbein and Asbury friends delighting in each other's company, but a remarkable confidence grew up between them. It was grounded in marked similarity of religious experience, a general agreement on theological questions, and reliance on nearly the same methods of evangelization and spiritual culture. Otterbein was older in years, but he had been slower in attaining spiritual insight, and perhaps never reached the confidence and vivid experiences of Asbury. He was wanting also in those executive qualities and the faculty of leadership which made Asbury the chief figure for so many years in American Methodism and impressed it with his characteristics. Their fields of labor were in the same region, separated by the barrier of diversity of language; but their aims and the results of their labors were so nearly alike, and wrought out in such harmony, that had the spirit of denominationalism been as fully developed in their day as it was fifty years after, the two friends might have joined hands and produced German Methodism in the closing years of the last century. But there was probably no serious thought of such an arrangement. Even Asbury, in whom the faculty of organization was so largely developed, was more concerned about saving souls than building a great ecclesiastical establishment. Otterbein was thoroughly content in a restricted sphere, moving forward almost reluctantly, at the suggestion of his associates rather than of his own impulse. He does not seem even to have been touched by human ambition. The volume before us, from which for the most part we obtain the facts of the life of this religious leader, does justice to his elevated Christian character, and places him in right relations to the Church of which he was the founder. It was his receptivity of the operations of the Holy Spirit, not ecclesiastical descent, that made him what he was. There are gaps in the record that we would gladly have filled, but sufficient remains to give a clearly defined figure of one chosen of God for labor and honor.

Philip William Otterbein was born in Dillenberg, a small

town in the Duchy of Nassau, Germany, on June 3, 1726. He came of a family of ministers of the Reformed Church, his father and others of the family having acquired an enviable reputation for scholarship and piety. His home was one in which simple, genuine piety prevailed; and there is reason to believe that something of the warmth and glow of the "pietism" of Spener and his followers had found access into the household. The father, happy in an honored and useful ministry, died when Philip was only sixteen years old. The mother moved to Herborn, a few miles away, the seat of a noted Reformed school, that she might carry out the design of preparing all her sons for the ministry, the oldest having already nearly completed his studies. Five brothers, besides the subject of this sketch, became pastors. There was nothing remarkable in the early history of this member of the family. Having passed through the usual classical and theological training with approbation, and devoted some time to teaching, he was ordained to the ministry on June 13, 1749, and entered at once on the duties of the pastorate, serving two villages in the vicinity of his native town. He appears to have been impressed at school by the teaching of the more spiritual and earnest professors, as was manifest in his preaching. The evangelical quality of his sermons soon began to gain attention, and in proportion as he won the favor of the more pious he lost in the estimation of the ecclesiastical authorities, who feared irregularities. His mother's true heart suggested his fitness for the mission field, for which there was some demand in the New World, whither Germans were emigrating in considerable numbers. And so, before three years had passed after his ordination, he, with five young ministers of the Reformed Church, sailed from the Hague for America. They reached New York on July 27, 1752, after a voyage of nearly four months.

Mr. Otterbein's ministry in this country began at Lancaster, Pa., one of several centers of the German population, the congregation of the Reformed Church there being second to Philadelphia only. This appointment shows his standing among his brethren to have been of the best. The church had been irregularly served, and some of the pastors had been unfit for the office, and the membership had become sadly lacking in spirituality. He entered, however, upon the work with zeal,

and the little log church was soon replaced by an imposing stone edifice. His efforts to introduce Church order and discipline did not meet with hearty support. But the difficulties of his situation and the general lack of sympathy in his efforts to lead the people into a genuine religious life only increased his determination to be faithful. He had some sense, no doubt, of the divine favor, and was seeking to know Christ more fully. His preaching produced conviction of sin, and the need of ministering to the awakened soul revealed his narrowness of spiritual knowledge and the feebleness of his faith. Like an honest soul not unconscious of the source of spiritual life, he sought light of God in secret, and came from his closet testifying of the grace of God, and with the assuring witness of the Spirit. From this time on it is plain to see that a new element had entered into the life of the pastor. It is known by the quality of his preaching, the faithfulness of his pastoral work, and his determination to establish a proper Church discipline. The doctrines of a change of heart, and the profession of constant communion with God, and the assurance of faith, were looked upon by the greater number of his hearers as a species of fanaticism or pietism hardly endurable even in a minister. We recognize in this spiritual change, that made a new man of Mr. Otterbein, the same general outlines of spiritual development that occurred in Mr. Wesley's religious life. The experience has been often repeated under like circumstances. And the spiritual life begotten of this guidance of the Holy Spirit into a clear apprehension of divine truth, and the attending quickening and increase of faith, constitute the best and only sufficient equipment for ministerial service. From the period of this larger experience, Mr. Otterbein preached with greater freedom, casting aside the expedient of a written sermon in the pulpit, and seems to have made a steady advancement along the lines of Arminian theology.

Mr. Otterbein failed of the success that he desired at Lancaster, and after eight years' service he resigned. He was induced to take charge of a church at Tulpehocken, a place of some note in those days among the Germans, but with more of the aspects of border life than he had yet seen. This field was hardly as inviting as that he had left, and he found the people set against innovations, as his prayer and other meetings were

called. Here he spent two years and was highly esteemed, for he was faithful beyond measure, preaching often, introducing prayer and a kind of class-meetings that were spiritually profitable. But the church authorities were openly and persistently in opposition. In his next pastorate, (Frederick, Md.,) his soul found greater freedom, and his work as a preacher and pastor was more fully appreciated. His influence was felt throughout the society and the town. The old unregenerate element in the church gave him some trouble, but he was growing in favor. He became more abundant in labors, preaching in every direction, extending his visits into Virginia, and creating an unusual interest wherever he went. He had invitations from places of importance, including Philadelphia. During his pastorate here he married an estimable lady, Miss Susan Le Roy, whose acquaintance he had made at Lancaster. Six years of happy married life followed, when the bond was broken by death, and he cherished the memory of his lost companion with touching tenderness to his last days. A ministry at York, Pa., began in 1765, and continued till he made a visit to Germany in 1770. The spiritual influences which had touched and were molding Otterbein were operating in other places with like effects. Methodism had been introduced, and doctrines which had been announced heretofore with diffidence were proclaimed with entire confidence, and found constant verification among the people. The work of the Holy Spirit in the awakening, conversion, and sanctification of believers was better understood and heartily preached. The preaching of Boehm among the Mennonites and the labors of other evangelists of like spirit were producing marked results. Otterbein was unusually active, preaching extensively in the adjoining States. He was brought into personal acquaintance with some who afterward became his fellow-laborers in the Gospel, and found himself in harmony with them, and his spiritual life quickened by the association.

Mr. Otterbein returned from Germany in the summer of 1771 and resumed his pastorate at York, and continued there nearly three years. There is nothing to indicate that the visit to his early home had any appreciable effect on his religious experience or the career to which God was calling him. But the last three years at York were eventful. The heaven of spirituality

was steadily gaining force and producing the usual effects in many places, and the ministers and people sympathizing with Mr. Otterbein's view were increasing. Their ecclesiastical relations became burdensome, for their motives no less than their piety and wisdom were called in question. Those who sympathized in the revival movement came together for counsel; unintentionally, perhaps unconsciously, the ties of their old ecclesiastical relationship had grown feeble, since they had no fellowship of heart and life. There were not, however, any indications of insubordination; rather the disposition was to continue faithful to their convictions and wait the developments of Providence. If there was any ambition of leadership and the formation of a new Church organization, it was carefully hidden from public view. But there was nothing of the kind. The next step was a plain one. A Reformed society in Baltimore had gathered into its folds quite a number of members who had been converted under the preaching of Mr. Otterbein. They were mostly young persons of an enterprising spirit, and they joined the evangelical party which was already forming in the Church. In the end, for it is not necessary to pursue the history in detail, a new society was organized and Mr. Otterbein accepted a call to the pastorate. Mr. Asbury's hand appears in this important event. He had arrived in this country a few months after Mr. Otterbein's return from Germany, and his preaching and zeal were having already their effect on the Methodist societies. Although these yet undiscovered leaders do not appear to have met in person, so at least it is thought, they knew and had confidence in each other. Mr. Asbury was on quite intimate terms with the evangelical pastor who preceded Otterbein at Baltimore, and fully understood the condition of the society. The Reformed *coetus* had in a manner declared against Mr. Otterbein accepting the invitation to become their pastor; but Mr. Asbury joined in urging him to accept, which he did, and came to Baltimore in May, 1774. Otterbein entered upon his work at once, and his spirit and energy produced a new order of things. He consulted with Mr. Asbury in the organization of the society, who advised a general conformity to Methodist methods; there was no effort to lead them into the Methodist societies. The constitution and rules which Mr. Otterbein drew up in consultation and with the advice of

his chief members show how thoroughly his views had been accepted by the society. The polity was Presbyterian, the theology tended toward Arminianism, and the Church discipline was far in advance of the Reformed Churches.

At an annual meeting of the pastors who co-operated in the revival movement, it was agreed to hold a "conference" in Baltimore in 1789 to consider more fully the interests of the growing congregations that looked to them for spiritual guidance. This may properly be considered the first definite step of the new organization. Of the fourteen preachers who were committed to the movement, seven were present. They were a company of ministers that would have done honor to any Church; and on account of their talents, piety, and devotion to the work of the ministry, were well qualified for the duties of the hour. The names of Otterbein, Martin Boehm, and Christian Newcomer will always be held in honor by the Christian Church. The members of the conference arrived at a satisfactory understanding, and adopted a confession of faith largely drawn from the Apostles' Creed. This was not a hasty or ill-advised proceeding. Mr. Asbury says in his *Journal*, under date of June 5, 1786: "I called on Mr. Otterbein; we had some free conversation on the necessity of forming a Church among the Dutch, holding conferences, the order of its government, etc." Mr. Otterbein no doubt saw quite plainly in what direction the work of the revivalists was tending, and was in thought preparing for the future. He was not of an adventurous spirit, even when most impressed with the conviction of duty. From the first the Methodists had been closely observed by Mr. Otterbein and his associates; they could not be insensible to the merits of the system which was being developed in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and especially its fitness for the work of evangelization which they were themselves pursuing, and the grand results of the itinerancy. And the organization which grew up under Mr. Otterbein and his coadjutors has more and more taken on the practical peculiarities of the Methodists; and, to its honor be it said, has perpetuated some of these which Methodists have allowed to fall into disuse. And its great gains may be already attributed to this flexible, simple system which seems fitted beyond any other for the saving of souls. It is not intended to assert that these minis-

ters were under any special obligations to Methodism, or dependent on it for their success, but that their common aims and singleness of purpose led them along nearly the same paths, profiting by each other's experience.

The new organization, which was for years after known as the United Brethren, began soon to vindicate the judgment of those who formed it. We cannot follow its history from year to year. Its growth was not rapid, partly, we are inclined to believe, because it did not assume a more independent position. Mr. Otterbein, like Mr. Wesley, seems to have retained great affection for the Church in which he was ordained to the ministry, and maintained for a long time a twofold ecclesiastical relation—some persons still affirming that he never separated from the Reformed Church. He met with the synod of that Church for the last time in 1800. During the next month the first regular Annual Conference of the United Brethren was held, and the organization took on more definite form. Mr. Otterbein and Martin Boehm were elected, or perhaps only recognized by general consent, as superintendents or bishops. A great revival was in progress among the Methodists, in which the United Brethren shared, and the greatest sympathy prevailed between the two bodies. They preached in each other's houses of worship, and were as one people in social worship and in the communion of the Lord's Supper. So long as Mr. Otterbein was able he preached far and near, and his influence was felt throughout the societies as the leading spirit in the movement. Boehm was as active, and hardly less popular among the people, but Otterbein was the acknowledged head, and thought of as the founder of the Church. He had the characteristics that are sought after for one in such a position.

The last Conference that he attended was in 1805, after which his age and increasing infirmities compelled him to abide in Baltimore. But he was not forgotten, nor did he lose his influence in the Church. The chief ministers came to see him in the quiet of his ministerial home, sought his advice in all important matters, and enjoyed the presence of the patriarch. A serious sickness toward the close of the year often induced him to make his will. He did not preach as often as he had, but his sermons are yet described as powerful and with the "unction from on high." Always kind and

benevolent, he grew still more tender toward the poor, and more mindful of the common duties of life. He took part in some honorable negotiations which looked toward a possible union of the United Brethren and the Methodist Episcopal Church; of which, however, nothing came beyond an agreement in regard to the use of churches and attendance on class-meetings and love-feasts. In March, 1812, the venerable, catholic-spirited Martin Boehm, his colleague in the superintendency from the beginning, who, like himself, had been laid aside from active labor, fell asleep in Jesus in his eighty-seventh year. Hardly had two months passed when the tender-hearted, eloquent Adam George Geeting, soon after a brief visit to Baltimore, closed his life in triumph. In April of the next year, Bishop Asbury, accompanied by Henry Boehm (son of Martin), paid him a last visit. "I gave an evening to the great Otterbein," says Mr. Asbury; "I found him happy and placid in God," and the evening was a memorable one. Perhaps no other words could have described the condition of the aged saint more accurately, so thoroughly in keeping with the character of the man. In October Christian Newcomer, who now filled the chief place in the superintendency, visited him, and writes that he was "weak and feeble in body, but strong and vigorous in spirit, and full of hope of a blissful immortality and eternal life." It had been the custom to license the preachers that had grown up in the revival, and to give them permission to administer the sacraments without ordination. Mr. Otterbein had not seen the necessity for any thing more, and his modesty and regard for Church order had restrained him from following the solicitations of others. But the brethren in the West had, by vote of the Conference, requested him to ordain Mr. Newcomer, who had been elected a bishop. He yielded to the request, and on the 2d of October Mr. Newcomer and two others, in the vestry of the church, were ordained elders, Mr. Otterbein having been lifted from his bed and placed in a chair. He was assisted by Rev. William Ryland, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. This was his last public service, and it was marked by his accustomed fervor and unction. As these brethren took leave of him next day, bidding them farewell, he said: "If any inquire after me, tell them I die in the faith I have preached." He continued to grow more feeble day by

day, suffering from an asthmatical affection, till, on November 17, in the evening, his friends perceived that his course was finished. At the close of a prayer by a ministerial friend of the Evangelical Lutheran Church he responded, "It is finished." He sank away, but rallied again soon after, and in expressing his faith in Jesus he said: "The conflict is over and past. I begin to feel an unspeakable fullness of love and divine peace. Lay my head upon my pillow and be still." And as this last service of earth was rendered him he passed away to the company of the redeemed, to be forever with his Lord.

A great company, Christians of all the Churches, attended the funeral. Rev. Dr. Kurtz, of the Lutheran Church, for many years his friend and collaborator in Baltimore, preached in German, and Rev. William Ryland in English. A Protestant Episcopal minister conducted the ceremony at the grave. The departed Christian was akin to them all. But when the Baltimore Conference was held in March, 1814, four months later, by request of the Conference and the Otterbein congregation, Bishop Asbury delivered a discourse in memory of the friend whom he had loved with unvarying affection. He was himself growing feeble, and the shadows were falling across his path. He wrote in his Journal: "By request, I discoursed on the character of the angel of the Church of Philadelphia, in allusion to P. W. Otterbein—the holy, the great Otterbein—whose funeral discourse it was intended to be. Solemnity marked the silent meeting in the German church, where were assembled the members of our Conference and many of the clergy of the city. Forty years have I known the retiring modesty of this man of God; towering majestic above his fellows in learning, wisdom, and grace, yet seeking to be known only of God and the people of God."

Nothing could have been more appropriate. Indeed, we can hardly conceive the record complete without this closing scene. At the ordination of Mr. Asbury to the episcopacy, nearly forty years before, in the Methodist chapel not far away, he had asked the favor of Mr. Otterbein that he should assist in the ceremony. The request was granted, and the stately figure and devout bearing of the German divine made him the most conspicuous person of the company. And now Asbury, infirm and nearly worn-out with incessant labor, the head of a Church

whose rapid increase contained already the prophecy of its future, testifies of his friend in words that will never be forgotten.

The foundations which Otterbein and his co-laborers laid remain, and the superstructure has grown far beyond any anticipation he may have had of its future. The Church of the United Brethren in Christ, of which it is but just to say that he was the founder, retains the spirit and vigor of its youth, and has taken on a more compact organization, increasing in connectional feeling, and establishing the agencies of a thoroughly equipped Church. From having been entirely German it has become so nearly English that it is no longer looked on as a German institution. The old intimate fellowship between the United Brethren and the Methodists has disappeared, but the most kindly feeling still exists. It has grown rather more Methodist in form and methods in its manhood, preserving, however, the differences which marked its beginning, yet modifying them wisely, we think. It accepted an invitation to the London Methodist Ecumenical Conference, was well represented, and in perfect sympathy with the followers of Wesley. It belongs to the great revival movement of the eighteenth century, and will continue in it so long as it cherishes the memory and preserves the faith and spirit of its illustrious founder.

ART. II.—THE CRITICAL AND THE ETHICAL IN LITERATURE.

The author dreads the critic.—JAMES ELLIS.

A just criticism injures no man's proper influence.—T. TILTON.

The most noble criticism is that in which the critic is not the antagonist so much as the rival of the author.—I. DISRAELI.

Those who do not read criticism will scarcely merit to be criticised.—B. DISRAELI.

THE office of the literary critic is a responsible one, often more so even than authorship itself. The reading public may be under less obligation to the writer of a book, able and important though it be, than to the trained critic, who, by his insight and the application of just canons, is able to show its true character, and disclose its real merits and defects, and so assign it to its true place in the world's literature.

The judgment passed upon any literary work by honest and capable critics is generally *final*, and it comes in time to be accepted as the final verdict. Occasionally, indeed, books and authors that were condemned by the critics have made their way to popularity and success; but these exceptions are extremely rare. More and more is it coming to be recognized by the intelligent that it is the *specialist* alone, in any department of human knowledge or attainment, that achieves the best possible success. The testimony of "experts" is invoked by courts and juries in matters of jurisprudence affecting difficult questions relating to sanity, idiocy, murder, and the like. It is the "man of one book" that is now coming to be dreaded by an antagonist.

At no former period in the history of literature has the office of honest and competent criticism been more imperatively called for than at the present time. The reason is to be found in the rapid growth and the enormous extent of our literary life and productiveness. The human mind was never so active, so prolific, so intensified as now. It is so in every department of knowledge and in every class of literary production, from the flippant, sensational "dime novel" to the greatest works in science, in philosophy, in theology, and to the ponderous, all-embracing encyclopedia. In so busy an age, all bustle and excitement, with a thousand interests clamoring and a thousand demands made on men's time and thought, very few find the leisure and capacity to read and profit by one out of a hundred of the five thousand new books which are annually published in the United States alone, or to make the acquaintance of a title of our ever-expanding and improving periodical reading. And yet a considerable portion of our professional and intelligent business gentlemen, and a growing class of persons of leisure, men and women of literary tastes and habits, are desirous to know what is going on in the world of letters. But this is impossible unless they can avail themselves of the services of the critics, who are awake to all that is new, and who furnish an epitome, often the best results, of current literary activity in their bright, condensed reviews, by means of the newspaper and periodical press. More and more is the reading public disposed to look to and confide in the judgment of our critics in the matter of books and authors. Macaulay's

assertion is true: "The opinion of the great body of the reading public is very materially influenced even by the unsupported assertions of those who assume a right to criticise."

What is to save the republic of letters from the inroads of the Goths and Vandals of the quill? what is to protect society from a flood of trashy and abominable literature? what is to conserve morality, and religion, and the intellectual life of the race, if there be no high tribunal, no class of men of keen minds and honest purpose and potent influence to stand between a horde of unprincipled writers and unscrupulous publishers on the one hand, and the reading public on the other? In spite of adverse criticism a vast amount of worthless and deleterious literature gets abroad, and is read by tens of thousands, young and old, to the detriment of their minds and morals. If only *one bad book in ten* goes unchallenged and finds its way into print, the aggregate of immoral literature is still fearfully great, and every year increases its amount and its desolating effect. But for the alert eye, and trenchant pen, and faithful service of fearless criticism, the number of pernicious books would be far larger than it now is, and their circulation much greater. Critical fidelity may fail to strangle a bad book while in manuscript or at its birth, yet is quite sure to limit [its influence] and shorten its life-time.

Authors and publishers are coming to appreciate the power of intelligent, honest criticism, and to act accordingly. There is now a manifest respect for this tribunal, and a dread lest its verdict be adverse to their interests. It is quite apparent, to discerning observers, that the opinions of the critics are anticipated and discounted in our great publishing houses before making a venture. It is well understood and accepted as a fact, established by experience, that a great name, and extensive advertising, and hard pushing, will no longer sell a book, and make it popular and a financial success, unless it can contrive to run the gauntlet of the oracles of criticism. And it is somewhat amusing to note the methods adopted to propitiate or forestall their verdict. Authors, also, have come to learn that their fame and fortune are not assured when once their literary progeny is adopted by a leading publisher, and he is introduced by him to the reading world with his best compliments and with all the attractions of a faultless mechanical taste and skill.

Not until it has passed the ordeal of the critics, who lie in wait to discuss the merits of every new candidate for public favor before the ink on its pages is fairly dry, and prophesy its fate with more than sibyl cunning and assurance, does either author or publisher breathe freely. That verdict—for which, often, both wait with trembling anxiety—either elates or depresses, kills or makes alive a “demand,” according as a favorable or unfavorable judgment is pronounced. Many a poor author’s heart is broken and his anticipated fame changed to sad disappointment, and many a publisher’s venture turns out a failure, because the verdict of stern criticism is adverse. And from its unsought yet inevitable decision there lies no appeal. The case of poor Keats was a very sad one. The unjust and brutal assaults of the critics broke his heart. But that day has past. The like could not be repeated now. In the majority of instances sharp and severe criticism is deserved. And it is a benefit to society and an advantage to literature to expose a pretentious, worthless book, and crush to the death one that is false and pernicious in its teaching and tendency.

Our literature, so far as it is distinctively American, is yet in its *childhood*. We are still in the creative period of our literary history. But the critical usually succeeds the creative. And there is growing up among us the critical faculty, and the judicial spirit and habit. And we are not wanting in skillful critical pens that would do honor to a much older literature than ours—whose influence has helped to mold and guide and elevate the thought of this new and mighty nation. The number is not large, nor yet is it insignificant.

While still deficient in breadth of view, in philosophical penetration, in correctness of taste, and in skillful methods, our national literature is certainly respectable, and is to be respected and encouraged. It has a grand mission before it, and a wide field, not only in this great Western Republic, but wherever the ideas and principles it represents find expression, and prospectively in the whole range of Anglo-Saxon literature. Under its first, and comparatively rude, teaching, our native authorship has vastly improved in tone and quality, as well as in volume, until, in many departments, it compares favorably with that of much older nations. This is conspicuously true in the fields of religious and biblical authorship. It were not difficult to name

a considerable number of recent issues from the press—the product of our own writers—which, in point of scholarship, intellectual vigor, breadth of culture, philosophical penetration, critical sagacity, and purity and vigor of style, are fully equal to the very best productions of Great Britain and Germany, in similar departments, during the same period of time. Even in the realm of fiction we have living writers of no mean merit and recognized ability, who, though not equal either in creative power or æsthetic skill to the great masters of modern English fiction—are yet quite equal to any writers of the second class of novelists among the English-speaking people of the Old World.*

“Distance lends enchantment to the view” in literary as well as in physical life. Compare the average productions of our authors to-day with those of a generation or two ago, and the growth, the improvement, in almost every quality, is manifest. One can scarcely credit it, unless he make the investigation for himself. You may test it in any department of literary production: in text-books for schools and colleges and theological seminaries; in the way of helps in preaching; in homiletic studies; in commentaries and encyclopedias; in the realm of theology, biblical exegesis and criticism, and sacred literature, or in fiction and works adapted to children and youth. Our entire Sunday-school literature is of recent growth. To characterize the advance made in all these departments in terms of just appreciation would seem exaggeration. The change wrought has been so gradual from year to year, and from decade to decade, that we have failed to mark and gauge it. We must fairly confront one period with another—the present with, say, fifty years ago—to see what improvement

[* It is, however, in the department of history that our American writers have especially excelled. During the latter half of the century there have been living at the same time a company of historical writers that could scarcely be equaled in any other age or country. Within the city of Boston there were living at the same time Bancroft and Prescott and Motley and Hildreth and Parkman; and in other parts of the country others only the inferiors because of the unequalled excellence of those named, whose united works constitute a mass of literary matter that has not often been equaled by the productions of any former epoch. Nor have we fallen behind other countries in the production of poetry; and the age and country that could present at the same time four such poets as Bryant and Longfellow and Whittier and Lowell need not come into the presence of the potentates of critical learning with the language of apology and deprecation.—Ed.]

we have actually made in all the elements and forces of a true, informing, elevating literature. We are no longer sneered at by the older nations of the world. American scholars are the recognized peers of the best scholars of the Old World. This has been clearly demonstrated in the matter of Bible revision, the most extensive and important literary enterprise since 1611, now brought to a close. American books are reproduced abroad by the score every year. Our magazine literature, in artistic perfection and popular elements of instruction, surpasses every thing they have on the other side of the water, and is sharply competing with the foreign magazines on their own field. We have theological and religious reviews to-day which, in point of scholarship, critical ability, and accomplished literary skill and ability, are the equal of the Old-World-renowned quarterlies of Great Britain which a generation or two ago wielded so prodigious a power both in Church and State; while our newspaper system, for enterprise, skill, and intellectual force, is not inferior to that of the most advanced nation on earth.

I do not claim that this marked progress is all the result of the agency of our literary critics. We have become a reading people. Intelligence and culture are widely diffused. There is a higher standard of literary excellence in general society. Scholarly men and women are found in every circle. Authorship, because of its frequency, has ceased to inspire the world with awe and wonder. Critics and criticism have sprung up on every hand, and gained a hearing and a footing in our literature, and made their influence decidedly felt in every department and along every channel of literary activity. The force has been a silent one, scarcely noted by the public. But it has permeated our literature. It has infused new ideas and loftier ideals into the reading men of the nation, and educated the public tastes and demands until, as a people, we are capable of appreciating true art and genuine literary merit, and will no longer buy the trash and twaddle, the crude and the superficial, which once satisfied us.

There is one important fact bearing upon this subject which is not commonly understood by the public. With rare exceptions the books issued by our publishers and bearing their names are not read by themselves, and their merits made a

matter of personal knowledge, before publication. They depend almost entirely on the critical judgment and ability of their "readers." So at the very fountain-head of literature sits the critic, and his function is exercised with autocratic absoluteness. It rests with him mainly to determine what works offered in manuscript shall see the light and what shall be sold for waste-paper. The power behind the throne, in our great publishing houses, is greater than the king upon it. The unseen, unknown, mysterious personage known as the "reader," stands between author and publisher on the one hand and the reading public on the other, and his dictum really decides the fate, if not of kingdoms, yet of interests more vital to human progress and human well-being than the rise or fall of empires and dynasties.

People are surprised at the great number of books *published*. They would be more surprised still if they knew the number that are read in manuscript and *rejected*! The proportion probably is *at least nineteen to one*! A single publishing house in this city not long ago declined one hundred and fifty in a single month! The aggregate number refused yearly by the publishers of New York city alone will amount to several thousands! It is thus seen that the *veto* power of the critical fraternity is exercised on a large scale. If our literature were cursed and weighted by all the rubbish, the froth and filth, the crude and unwholesome thinking and writing which seeks a publisher, it would soon sink into deserved contempt. Literature and the public owe a hundred-fold more to the ability and integrity of this class among us—a class absolutely unknown to the public, and unrecognized even in literary circles—than they have ever given credit for. If our would-be authors would oftener avail themselves of the critical services of these literary experts, they would do better service to literature, and often save themselves a world of bitter disappointment, and often serious pecuniary loss.

A word as to the scope and function of criticism, before I proceed to discuss its cardinal elements. Webster defines criticism as "the art of judging of the beauties and faults of a literary performance, or of a production in the fine arts." No class of men have been more roundly abused than have our critics. It is surprising, and even amusing, to read the sharp

and silly things which have been written of them. Washington Irving, who certainly had no cause for prejudice by reason of their treatment of him and his writings, declares them a "kind of freebooters in the republic of letters, who, like deer, goats, and diverse other graminivorous animals, gain their subsistence by gorging upon buds and leaves of the young shrubs of the forest, thereby robbing them of their verdure, and retarding their progress to maturity." Sir William Temple's opinion of them was not much better. "The critics," he says, "are a race of scholars I am very little acquainted with, having always esteemed them but like brokers who, having no stock of their own, set up a trade with that of other men, buying here and selling there, and commonly abusing both sides, to make out a little paltry gain, either of money or credit for themselves, and care not at whose cost." Longfellow's appreciation is nearer the truth, and still not very complimentary: "Critics are sentinels in the grand army of letters, stationed at the corners of newspapers and reviews to challenge every new author." I might cite the opinions of any number of other writers of renown, all showing a total misconception of the function and the dignity of the critical profession.

Why is it? Whence this false idea and inveterate prejudice? Literary criticism has certainly a right to be. It is a high art. Its function is legitimate and honorable, and its proper exercise yields results eminently beneficial to the cause of letters. Its object is not a vulgar, selfish, destructive one, but the elevation of literature by the creation of truer and higher standards of literary excellence. Its scope is not restricted to the office of the literary "scavenger" and "freebooter;" but it is as broad as the domain of literature, and enters into all that is vital in its structure. To cut and slash after a cavalier fashion; to criticise the style and method and logic and blunders of an author; to deery or praise a book in a wholesale and indiscriminate manner, is not a legitimate part of the critic's function. His mission is a broader one, his work more serious and radical. There are general and fundamental elements of literary culture, philosophy, criticism, and mental creation involved in every literary production, whatever be its grade of merit. The critic must comprehend and be able to apply to the case in hand the laws respecting the

structure of language, the philosophy of thought, and the canons of criticism, and he should be familiar with the whole literature of the subject under consideration. He has not half done his work when he has succeeded in laying bare the real life, the actual character, of any particular book; it may be a wise or a foolish, a good or a bad book *in itself*, and the fact scarcely be worth the knowing. But that book has vital relations, it may be, to the whole literature of the world, to the sum total of human thought, human progress, and to the very philosophy and destiny of humanity. To discover this vital principle or relation in an author or in his production, and be able to point it out for the benefit of the world, is among the highest functions of criticism. Comparatively few critics possess this superior gift.

True criticism is not simply *destructive*; it is *creative* as well. If it sometimes kills, it also makes alive. It points out the faults and errors of an author, that they may be corrected, and thus be stripped of the power to do mischief. It exposes fallacies in reasoning, falsehood in statement, and wrong conclusions in argument, that the public may not be misled. It sharply criticises, it may be, gross violations of the rules of mental perception and literary taste and excellence, purely in the interest of good literature. No higher favor can be done to the author himself than impartially and faithfully to analyze and pronounce judgment upon his production according to the rules of just criticism. The more severely and thoroughly the work is done—if fairly done—the better for him. It will do him good, really, not harm. If he is too self-conceited or sensitive to endure it, he ought not to have ventured on authorship. Longfellow's observation is singularly *untrue*: that "the strength of criticism lies only in the weakness of the thing criticised." The reverse is often true. Masterly criticism—criticism that enters into the domain of the creative—has sometimes been evoked by the strength of an antagonist. Criticism has been the *making* of many an author's reputation, and of his excellence and success as well. The shame of his early failure, and the ridicule of the critics, as in the case of Disraeli's failure in his first attempt in the British Commons, have spurred him to new endeavor. He has had the good sense to see the justice of the criticism passed upon him and his work,

and to learn from it. If authors generally could *reconstruct* their literary performances in the light and with the benefit of the strictures passed upon them by the censors of the press, it is safe to say nine tenths of them would undergo material change; not a few, radical transformations.

The same is true of the reading public. No higher favor can be bestowed upon it in a literary, and often in a moral and religious, sense than to read critically and interpret for its benefit the new books and periodicals that are constantly making their appearance; and the more skillfully, conscientiously, and thoroughly the service is done the greater the obligation and the benefit.

One bad book may taint a thousand minds, a whole community, and transmit its pen-poison to many generations. Paine's "Age of Reason" has blasted more lives and damned more souls than the sneering and blasphemous tongues of ten thousand Ingersolls will ever accomplish. There is the power of an evil immortality, the genius of an incarnate devil, in every evil thing which the press brings forth. Hence the man who suppresses or strangles one of this vile progeny is a public benefactor. And the class of men whose keen eyes discern, and whose fearless, trenchant pens write False, Evil, Infidel, Devilish on the foreheads of the literary imps, imbeciles, monsters, and "lying and seducing spirits" which troop and play their pranks and practice their black arts on the stage of human life deserve all honor and praise. They are the true ministers of high art. They are the conservators of a pure, elevating literature, the educators of the people in matters of grave and eternal import.

In this, as in every other profession, there no doubt are those who abuse and pervert their gifts, who use their pens only for pelf or to gain some sinister end. They have as little conscience as they have real literary merit. They are only pretenders, or "wolves in sheep's clothing;" they disgrace the profession, and deserve to be ignominiously drummed out of it. The critical guild should not be judged by those literary quacks and penny-a-liners who infest the offices of newspapers and reviews, and are tolerated by editors and publishers out of sheer pity or good nature, to the detriment of the public and the prejudice of those who do honest and competent work in the realm

of criticism. If my readers desire to see worthy specimens of American literary criticism, I beg to refer them to the leading reviews and journals of the country, which have rendered in the past, and most of which are still rendering, conspicuous services in this important branch of our literature. A vast amount of fair, able, and discriminating criticism, on books and authors and literary matters in general, will be found in these periodicals, covering a large range of literature and going back over a period of seventy years. One not familiar with the history and achievements of these organs of literary thought, culture, and scholarship can form no adequate conception of the extent or value of the service which they have rendered in the republic of letters and in every department of American literature. Not a work of any importance, in any field of human knowledge or literary activity, has appeared during all these decades that has not been critically reviewed in one or more of these standard and influential journals. And it cannot be doubted that the influence of this mass of intelligent, persistent, current criticism on the character of our infant, growing literature, during almost its entire formative period, has been most decided and salutary. This great work of our critics sheds luster on American scholarship and culture.

But it is time to cease this somewhat cursory and general survey of the subject, and proceed to formulate the fundamental principles which enter into and govern all genuine literary criticism. I shall not attempt to exhaust the subject, but content myself with stating, and that briefly, a few of them.

1. I name, first of all, *independence*—absolute, unfettered liberty, both of judgment and expression. This involves not only personal qualities—mental, moral, religious, social, philosophical—but also position, relation, training, motive. No one can perform properly the critic's function unless he be free from all undue bias and prejudice toward author or publisher; from all low ambition and personal interest; independent of all cliques which infest literary circles, as well as of public sentiment. The conscientious reviewer will put all these things aside, as the upright judge on the bench will thrust aside and rule out all irrelevant and improper evidence, and conduct his examination according to the rigid rules of justice, and decide the case on the basis of truth without fear or favor. Conscious of the high

interest involved and of his responsibility to author and publisher, although he may be a stranger to both, and with an eye single to the best interest of literature, the true critic will command his spirit, and render the best verdict of his enlightened and independent judgment.

Temptations not a few beset our critics to depart from strict integrity. To allude to a single mode. The practice has become quite general of late, to have prepared and sent out with every new book and periodical issue, addressed to the "literary editor," a printed notice or criticism; if the former, it is usually accompanied with the commendations of several distinguished names, to whom advance copies have been presented for this purpose. All such criticism is, of course, in the interest of author and publisher. There may be no evil motive in it; yet the effect naturally is to bias favorably the critical opinion solicited. There are "literary editors" who will not be caught with such guile; but the mass of them are entrapped. The work is done to their hands; and done, probably, more ably and gracefully than they could do it after hours of labor. And the result is what we might expect. Whoever will take the trouble to compare on a large scale the criticisms of the press on any new book or magazine will find a suspicious and remarkable *similarity* in hundreds of critical notices. The explanation is, that they have simply copied, with more or less fullness and variation of verbiage, the printed opinion sent out. This is not true of the majority of our reviews, nor of the better class of our magazines and newspapers. *But the mass of readers never see any other criticism of new books and periodicals than this highly spiced and interested kind.* All honor to the critic who has independence and conscience enough to rise above all temptation and every biasing influence; the industry to examine for himself every work submitted to his judgment; and the courage to render his verdict with fearless independence.

2. True criticism will be ruled by the spirit of *candor*. It will be false and perverting if it be otherwise. To detect and condemn the faults, errors, and weak points of a book, and say nothing about its redeeming qualities, is unfair and ungenerous. There is no surer way to kill a book and wrong author and publisher, who are at the mercy of the critic. Such

an act, deliberately perpetrated, is literary scoundrelism, and ought to be visited with condign punishment. And yet the iniquity is practiced continually; practiced boldly and habitually by many critics, and by organs of literary criticism, and by schools and coteries of thought and culture. They have some sinister end to gain, a spite to gratify, a rival interest to subserve, a low ambition to gratify, or a clique to serve. Or they are ruled by prejudice or party zeal, or religious bigotry or sectarian feeling, or infidel intolerance. They have an eye that sees *only evil*, and is blind to the good. They "love darkness rather than light." Like vultures they scent the carrion from afar, and feed on the putrid carcass with delight. *Such* critics may well be called "scavengers."

Whoever carefully watches the criticisms of the press for a period of years will be forced to the painful conclusion that we have, comparatively, *little really candid criticism among us*. Even in circles of high respectability—in literary organs of ability and influence—it is not difficult, often, to detect the animus of secret hostility or prejudice, personal, literary, sectarian, or religious, coloring, shaping, adapting to their special ends no small part of their criticisms. You can often *forecast* their judgment. Candor does not determine it. Praise and censure are not meted out on the broad principles of a universal ethical or literary law, but as interest, caprice, affinity, or taste happens to dictate.

There quietly passed away from us not long ago a rare character, estimated by any fair standard of criticism. A gentleman by instinct and habit; modest in demeanor, with the gentleness and tenderness of a woman; and noble and generous in his appreciation of the merits of his compeers in literary circles. His culture, his ability, natural and acquired, his literary tastes and genius, were of a high order, as the uniform excellence and superiority of his manifold works, both in verse and prose, abundantly prove. That modest author, of solid worth, of honest purpose, of high Christian character and teaching, whose active pen was wholly consecrated to God, to humanity, and to pure literature, charmed and instructed a larger circle of intelligent readers than any other American writer of his times. As an editor, his influence was powerfully felt on the journalism of the country, and conspicuously on our magazine litera-

ture, lifting it to a degree of perfection and a sweep of popular influence never before reached.

And yet that very man and author and popular favorite of a wide cultured circle of men and women never had a standing in some of our literary circles; was regarded and treated by them as a "barbarian." Coteries that claimed pre-eminence in literary matters never admitted him to their fraternity; their organs of criticism never had a kind or appreciative word for him. The author and his writings were uniformly and persistently disparaged by them. Every new work from his pen was greeted with derision or a new blast of detraction. The very popularity of his writings, based on real merit, and the ever-increasing interest shown in them by a widening circle of literary friends and admirers, only served to increase their hostility and bitterness. Their evil nature got the better of their candor, and they could see nothing good in a writer who touched the popular heart as few men have ever done, and touched it only to inspire pure thoughts and noble living. To say that he *felt* this cruel injustice in the very depths of his sensitive nature is to disclose no secret. The bitterness went with him down to a premature grave. Who knows but that it shortened that useful life?

Another case, no less remarkable, and which attracted some attention at the time in a limited circle. A certain quarterly review, of acknowledged ability and careful editorship, for some unknown reason fell under the displeasure of a leading journal of lofty pretension and no little smartness, and for years no occasion was lost to strike at it in the way of disparagement. Had it passed its issues over in silence, or candidly and fairly criticised its conduct or contents, however severely, no exception could have been taken to its course. But its tactics were of the mean type. It was careful to get every issue of the work, and reserve its "notice" of it until it could lay it by the side of all its competitors; and then, by innuendoes, unfair comparisons, and criticisms, place it to the greatest disadvantage before its readers. When it could find no fault with its literary merits, it stooped to fish out and parade in detail every proof-reader's blunder or printer's mishap. Finally the review changed editor and publisher, and instantly this same journal began to pipe on another key. And this is *candid* criticism!

3. True criticism must be *impartial*. Candor has main reference to the particular work under review, and obliges the critic to judge it fairly in its entirety, and award its due meed of praise and censure. Impartiality has a much wider scope, and requires a survey of the whole field of authorship and of literature, and of all the vital questions and interests affecting the public mind and society in relation thereto. Impartial criticism must look at the matter from all sides, from every angle of vision, and allow no circumstances, or conditions, or considerations, to have undue prominence or weight in the final decision. It must separate the subject from every thing extraneous, from all surroundings and influences whatsoever likely to warp or mislead the judgment, and look at the thing in its intrinsic elements and broadest relations in the calm, clear, philosophic light of comprehensive and impartial critical sagacity and judgment. Impartiality, in a word, is the application of the *judicial* spirit and principle in literary criticism. It will not be turned aside from the straight path of honor and right, but with firm, unfaltering step will move on to a rightful deliverance.

This may be said to be an *ideal* criticism. It is the only criticism that is worth the name, and the standard to which all friends of a pure and noble literature should aspire. Would that we had more of it! Our criticism, it may be hoped, will improve as it grows in years, and broadens and strengthens, and is fostered and appreciated by an enlightened and generous public sentiment. Its evil elements will slough off under the influence of a healthier moral and literary atmosphere. As its ethical element tones up its general character, and it rises to the dignity and standing of an important and recognized profession in the republic of letters, with a distinct class of genuine literary aristocrats, the low-minded and unworthy members of it will one by one drop off or be rooted out.

4. True criticism is *honest*. There is no relation or function in life in which *downright honesty* is more imperatively necessary than in the realm of literary criticism. The character of their literature will, in the long run, determine the character and the life of a people and rule their destiny. Literature has come to be mightier than armies and navies; mightier than the sword, and commerce, and diplomacy, and statesmanship, and

kingly power. No "railroad king," with a hundred millions to back him, is as potent a force to-day in the affairs of the world as the king of the quill. The knights of criticism are well-nigh masters in the realm of thought. Brains—educated intellect—and not physical power, or wealth, or aristocracy, actually rule in this mundane sphere. The lords of the press are the lords of human thought, human progress, and human destiny.

This is a fact which cannot be truthfully denied. It is a tremendous fact, the full significance of which we fail to note.

What is to be the history, the development, the final destiny of this greatest of the nationalities of the future, in numbers and material resources and power? No man or patriot, no scholar or Christian, can ponder this question and not feel anxious. And yet this momentous problem will be largely affected by the character of the literature of the future. Our thinkers, writers, critics, publishers, and those who aid and abet them in their work, will decide the matter for us. The brains and the pens of the masters of thought—the leaders and factors of the world's intellectual life in the realms of science, history, political economy, philosophy, theology, and fiction—will be chief forces working out the grandest destiny that history has ever recorded of any people; or they will cause a downfall so fearful in its extent, and so overwhelming in its ruin, as to shake the whole earth.

Let the writers of our popular reading ignore the ethical principle, strike down personal purity, and undermine the family constitution—let socialistic ideas take root in the minds and habits of the great working classes—let an atheistic agnosticism cast its baleful shadow over the nation, and let the censors of the press be as "dumb dogs that will not bark"—let this state of things ensue, and the work of ruin will be done. The decadence of moral virtue is the sure precursor of the decadence of national strength and greatness. The corruption and defilement of a nation's literature means the corruption of social virtue in the body politic, the destruction of integrity and honor in all the relations and walks of life, and the final complete overthrow of order and good government. One of the greatest perils to our literature, and through it to the people, lies in this direction. The weakest point in our lit-

erary criticism lies just here. Too many of the critics of the press are wanting in literary *honesty*: are not thoroughly conscientious and reliable. They do not ply their vocation in the fear of God, with a due sense of responsibility to the reading world. They are not always careful to give a verdict in strict accordance with truth and righteousness. The purity of the critical ermine is often, like that of the judicial, soiled by passion or interest. If a critic has not taken time and thought sufficient to know just what he is criticising, he ought in all fairness to say so, and let his guess go for what it is worth. But are not hundreds of books reviewed, and the reviewer's judgment paraded before the public, when not so much as the leaves of the book have been cut! Or, is that honest criticism which, after mastering the contents of a work—its faults and beauties, its merits and demerits—fails to give its honest opinion of it as a whole? Is that honest criticism which is restrained by a false delicacy, by fear of giving offense or wounding feelings, or by favoritism of any kind, from giving free, emphatic expression of disapproval and censure whenever and wherever the occasion demands it, and especially when truth, morality, and literary integrity are involved?

5. All worthy criticism must be *thorough*. Superficiality is one of the great faults of criticism, and indeed of all our literature. Either from too great haste or from incapacity for the difficult service, a large proportion of the work of our critics is not well done. It is too general in its character. It does not go below the surface. It tithes "mint, anise, and cummin," and passes over "the weightier matters of the law." It strains out the gnat and swallows the camel. It notes typographical errors, and fails to discern the gist of a book. It is quick to detect crudities of thought, infelicities of expression, and flaws in the arrangement of an author, and yet fails to grasp his argument or comprehend the scope and substance of his production. It praises or blames inordinately, because it lacks the discriminating faculty, or does not know how to apply the laws of criticism. It concerns itself with matters trivial, which the ordinary reader would be likely to see for himself, while the real inwardness of the book is not discovered, and the essential qualities and chief merits or defects of it, which ought to challenge the critic's sagacity and judgment, and which

the mass of uncritical readers may not be competent to detect or see in their full light, are not so much as hinted at.

This characterization applies to much of the literary criticism of the newspaper press, and to not a little that is found in our magazines. Frequently is it the case that only some trivial exception is taken to a work that is rotten to its core; and a trashy and even bad book is praised, while in the same issue a meritorious book is condemned, or noticed only by giving its title. This arises, it may be, not from malice or evil motive, but from sheer critical incapacity or mental laziness, or from the force of a most pernicious habit which has grown up among editors of passing judgment on books on the slightest glance at their contents, or from farming out the service—the most difficult and important which pertains to journalism—to unknown and irresponsible scribblers.

The point under consideration will *test the critic's mettle*—determine the breadth and depth of his culture, and the range of his critical sagacity and acumen. It is child's play, in reviewing a work, to note its mechanical defects, its infelicities of style, its defective reasoning, its surface errors, its immediate relations and aptitude. But when all this is accomplished the critic's main task is still before him. He must penetrate to the core thoughts of the author's mind. He must master his use of terms, his methods of construction, his philosophy, his essential argument, and all the materials and conditions which enter into the production. He must be able to look at it from the author's own point of view, and, in a measure, with his eyes; to comprehend his purpose, his limitations, his environments, and be able to judge whether his facts or arguments are sufficient to warrant his conclusions, and whether the performance, as a whole, is a creditable one to the author, and one that has claims on public attention and patronage. In no other way, at no less cost of time, patience, and critical ability, is it possible to do justice to a literary work of any moment, and determine its character, place, and mission in the world of letters. And this involves the necessity of extensive reading and culture, of trained sagacity and sound critical judgment, as well as a thorough knowledge of the principles of criticism and the structure and philosophy of literature. It is easy for one to write a history; to gather and arrange the facts, events, and

epochs which constitute the staple of all history, and set them forth with due order and perspicacity: we have any number of such histories. But it is quite another thing and a severer task to write a *philosophy of history*; to place this mass of isolated facts and events and epochs in their several relations of cause and sequence, so as to be able to deduce from them, by broad and philosophical generalizations, the law of history, and thus discover and set forth the potent factors which govern the growth, development, and decay of nations, peoples, and civilizations. Such histories are of immense value to the statesman, the scientist, the political economist, the moralist, and the student of Providence.

It is more than possible to elevate literary criticism into a science; to infuse into it the spirit and life of a divine and all-pervasive philosophy. *There is a vital philosophy pervading all true thought, all nature and Providence.* It dominates in heaven. It rules the stars. Its circuit is as limitless as universal being. It controls the course of nations, the rise and fall of empires, the growth and decadence of civilizations. It permeates the sphere of the mental and the spiritual. The intellects of men and angels are pervaded by it, and the Divine Intelligence is the seat and throne of its power. And it is possible for the devout student in the kingdom of thought to come under the attraction of this universal law; to feel the kindlings of this heavenly power, and under the touch of its wondrous inspiration to attain to a true conception of the dignity and glory of literature, and of the mission of those who strive to make it the handmaid of religion, and the very "power of God," for the elevation and sanctification of humanity.

6. Criticism, in order to answer its high end, must be *truthful*—not only in the ethical sense, but in the literary sense as well; truthful to nature as well as to God, and truthful to the ideals and principles which govern all true literary conception and life. Truthfulness is essential in every relation and sphere of life, but nowhere more so than in all literary work. This law of perfect truthfulness must be respected and obeyed or there will be no real or enduring success. History, biography, science, theology, must be true to facts; philosophy must be true to mental processes; poetry must be true to the laws of

the emotions; and fiction must be true to human nature in all its multiform aspects and conditions, and to actual life in common experience and observation. One of Sir Walter Scott's friends once laughed at his scrupulous fidelity to local description. The author's reply showed not only the high ideal of excellence at which he aimed, but also the insight of genius. As in nature herself no two scenes were exactly alike, so whoever presented truly what was before his eyes would possess the same variety in his descriptions, and exhibit apparently an imagination as boundless as the range of nature in the scenes recorded.

One of the greatest charms of Shakespeare, and one of the secrets of his world-wide popularity and permanent place in the world's literature, is the accuracy and truthfulness of his delineations. His anatomy of the human passions, and his portrayal of the power and workings of a guilty conscience, are true to the very life. The universal heart and conscience of mankind so recognize them. He cleaves straight down through the shams and disguises and subterfuges of sin and guilt, and lays bare the inner heart, with its lusts and defilements and sinuosities, to the consciousness of every man and to the observation of the world. The main reason why we have to-day so few writers of fiction that touch and sway the popular heart, and command the homage of the intelligent and cultured class, is, because we have so few masters in this line of excellence. George Eliot excels them all in mental power and grasp of thought; but many of her novels are philosophical disquisitions on the dark problems of life and being, rather than the delineations of actual human hopes and passions and lives in this existing world of ours. If the heroes and heroines of modern fiction were all gathered into one community, and clothed with flesh and blood, and each made to play his or her several parts, as described by our writers, what a community it would be! Unlike any thing ever seen on this mundane globe. And what a society it would constitute!—what a life it would present! And yet this is the species of humanity, this the type of life, this the society that our novelists picture out to the youthful fancy, describe as reality in human experience, delineate in character to instruct the world. The picture is essentially FALSE; there is no correspondence to actual nature and the

common lives of men and women. *Truthfulness* is sacrificed for the sake of effect or popularity, or because of the dominance of false tastes and standards, and in response to a vitiated demand. Dickens would have swayed a much more potent force while living, and his popularity would not have so rapidly declined after his death, had he been more truthful in his representations of human nature and life. Many of his characters are such exceptional oddities or monstrosities that they seem, to the average reader, to be merely caricatures. Possibly *he* may have seen the models of his characters in the slums and dark alleys of London life; but to the mass of his readers they are happily palpable untruths, and libels on human nature. Thackeray, with less genius than Dickens, is far more truthful to the actual, common, every-day life and humanity of the world, and he is therefore read with more pleasure and instruction.

It is the duty of criticism not only to set a conspicuous example of truthfulness in its own sphere, but to exact the same virtue, both on the ground of art and morals, throughout the realm of literature. It is bound to mark the absence of this essential quality, to detect and expose the counterfeit semblance, and to arraign and condemn, in the interest of sound literature, whatever is untruthful in spirit or in form. The critic will be false to the trust reposed in him if he shirks this duty. His own nature should be responsive to the demands of this high law, and he should be strict and fearless in visiting censure for every breach of it upon whomsoever the censure may fall. We shall not have a literature worthy of a free, cultured, Christian people until we weed out that which is unreal, untrue to nature, to art, to genuine virtue and pure living. The task is a severe one, but it can be accomplished.

7. Literary criticism, above all things, must conform to the *ethical principles of Christianity*. It is not necessary that Christian morality be formally taught in literary circles and in general literature; but the spirit of it, and the fundamental law of it, must underlie and permeate and be the "salt" of all thinking and writing and teaching, or we cannot create or conserve a clean, vital, healthy, vigorous literature. There must of necessity be freedom from all moral taint, and a high moral end and tendency. Literature is the expression, the in-

tellectual and moral force and trend, of the thinking and the life of a people. The institutions, the character, the civilization of any age or people, will not be superior to the actual and general character given to its literary development. It is not possible to think and act correctly—to give the right tone and direction to the human intellect—to subordinate the evil proclivities and passions of our fallen nature; to conserve liberty, social order, virtue, and truth, in the individual, the family, and the state—to make humanity true to itself and to the high end of its being, unless the principles of the Decalogue and the sublime precepts of the Sermon on the Mount are practically recognized as of universal and perpetual obligation in the entire realm of literature, as well as in the spiritual kingdom of Jesus Christ. All law, in heaven and on earth, is based on the ethical principle. Emerson, with all his bright sayings, never uttered a truer or more comprehensive truth than when he wrote this pregnant sentence: "*Health of mind consists in the perception of law.*" Law is the essence of right embodied and formulated. Morality, in its widest scope and essential spirit, is obedience to that divine law which runs through all nature, physical, mental, and spiritual. Human nature, as well as the angelic nature, is based on moral foundations, deep laid in the conscience, and all-pervasive. In no sphere of thought or action, in no actual or conceivable condition of being or society, can a man absolve himself from allegiance to this high law. It is dominant every-where. The words of the psalmist are literally true, as well as poetically beautiful: "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth his handiwork. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night sheweth knowledge. There is no speech nor language, where their voice is not heard."

The sentiment is creeping in among us that art and strict morals are incompatible, and if one or the other must be sacrificed the *ethical* must suffer. This false and atrocious sentiment has not as yet gained much headway in our literature. Even American fiction is but slightly tainted with it. But in art it has made fearful strides. Nude pictures, colored to the life, and the amatory passions depicted and spread out to the eye, both in painting and sculpture, are common sights in our art galleries and in the studios of artists, and on the walls of

many a palatial home. The London "Times" has recently contained several columns of sharp criticism on nude art in the Royal Academy exhibitions, of which there has been a great increase of late years. How long ere this pernicious sentiment will work its way into our literature, especially our fiction, to taint and blast the morals of the nation? If high art can thrive only at the expense of ethical purity and social virtue, then perish high art, and give us instead old-fashioned puritanical severity. We are on the downward grade when "technic is of more importance in any art than moral effect, and market price most important of all."

We do not urge the claims of religion, nor the dogmas of the Church, in thus insisting on the recognition of the moral code of the Bible as the basis and essential law of all literature, for that law is restricted to no creed, nor faith, nor religious belief, nor unbelief. It is alike binding on the Christian and the infidel, on the Jew and the Gentile, on the philosopher and the peasant. It belongs to *man as man*—to universal humanity; and applies in every relation and act and condition of life. The supreme obligation of this eternal and universal law is not abated one iota because a man rejects "the gospel of the grace of God" and lives in defiance of its teachings. The scholar, the writer, the critic, the publisher, the reader, are each and all amenable to this ethical law for every sentiment expressed, and for every book written, published, bought, and read. It is very *responsible* business, this putting on paper and in type, in permanent life, for the eye and mind of mankind during all the on-coming ages of time, the thoughts of one's mind, the passions of one's heart, the moods and habits of one's inner being, and the principles which govern and find expression in one's outward life. The man who deliberately assails the fundamental law of ethics—a law absolutely essential to the health and well-being of God's moral universe—by the improper, sinful use of pen and type and press, is the enemy of his race, and the deadly foe of society and of universal humanity, a thousand-fold more so than if he had simply broken a human statute. The writers and publishers of that fearful mass of vicious literature which so shocks the sensibilities of the better class in society, and is filling the land with vice and crime in every loathsome form and in startling proportions, are

infinitely more criminal than the pirates who plunder and murder upon the high seas; or than the gambler, the seducer, or the kidnapper, who ply their devilish arts on the land. They strike at a universal law; they assail virtue at its source, and society at its most vulnerable points, and taint, corrupt, and demoralize the entire race of man, as far as the poison of their writings is felt.

The French novel is to-day sapping the very foundations of moral virtue in the family and the state, and it tends with fearful certainty to subvert social order and civil liberty, and to bring on again in France the reign of communism, anarchy, and blood-thirsty passion. When the ethical principle is discarded by the popular writers of a people; when the "salt" of social virtue is perished out of its popular literature and the flood-gates of immoral sentiment and passion are opened, moral and social decadence, putrefaction, and ruin are the inevitable results. No power of genius, no brilliancy of intellect, no amount of scholarship among its savants, or of learning cloistered in universities, or of intelligence diffused among the people, and no passion for art or love of liberty, can then stay the tide of desolation. When moral restraints are gone, when marital ties are dissolved at will, when the integrity of virtue is sneered at, and the popular mind is flooded with the filth of lustful sentiment and passion, a people will surely ripen for the terrible visitations of divine righteousness.

We have not wholly escaped the vile contagion in this land where Puritan morals have been so long dominant. The tendency among us is in the same direction. The same exciting causes exist here as on the other side of the great sea. Already agencies and forces are at work to demoralize the public conscience and debauch the morals of the people, particularly of our children and youth, by obscene pictures and by the vilest kinds of reading. We have writers, too, in any number, who are ready to sell their brains and pens (morals they have none) to this iniquitous trade. They are constantly on the outlook for opportunities. And we have publishers who have grown rich by printing and circulating cheap novels and story papers by the million which are a disgrace to our Christian name and civilization—a mass of literature which, like the frogs of Egypt, is every-where where there is a boy

or a girl to be decoyed to ruin, or an evil heart to be inflamed with lust—a literature without one redeeming trait, either in a literary or moral sense, and which only panders to vice, idleness, immorality, and crime, and which, on the Sabbath and on every day of the week, is educating millions of the children and youth of this land for the brothel, the penitentiary, and the gallows.

The newspaper press of this country, while we heartily recognize its ability and enterprise, and appreciate its general excellence, is nevertheless a source of *imminent danger to our morals*. The greater its excellence in other respects and the more potent its influence, the greater the danger if that danger really exists. And this peril is seen in two potent facts: the first is, that the ethical principle has come to be quite generally set at naught, even by our leading journals, in their anxiety to furnish “newsy,” exciting, popular reading. And hence scandals, intrigues, “interviews,” real or imaginary, marital infelicities, divorce and seduction suits, murders, robberies, hangings, suicides, etc., are spread out in their columns under startling headings and sub-headings in all their disgusting details, and with all their demoralizing suggestions and concomitants. It would be an insult to common sense to attempt to justify this course on moral grounds, or as a necessity in journalism. The other fact is the “Sunday” newspaper. It dates back only a few years, and already it is an established institution in the land, and a factor of tremendous influence for harm. How is it possible to preserve intact our American Sabbath, when more than five hundred leading journals of the country on that day are scattering their millions of papers, by means of Sunday trains and expresses and carriers through all our cities and country districts, tempting multitudes to buy and read and join them in secularizing the Sabbath. Their example and influence are doing more to demoralize our Sunday and turn it into a day of recreation, pleasure, and dissipation than all other agencies put together. With this example and influence operating in full force, it is morally impossible to stay the demand and tendency to open our parks and museums and libraries and theaters on the Sabbath, and thus make that day, hitherto the glory of English-speaking Christendom, what it is in Continental Europe.

There is one historical fact, expressed in the annexed paragraph, that affords some comfort:

The literature of the two great Anglo-Saxon peoples has always had a tolerably clear idea that there is a necessary connection between art and ethics. It has contained many mischievous or frivolous books; it has wavered between the austerity of Bunyan and the license of the dramatists of the Restoration; it has been successively influenced by Norman-French, Italian, Latin, and Greek culture; but it has never lost sight of certain principles peculiarly its own. One of these principles is, that a book should have a definite purpose, a real reason for being, if it expects a long life. This principle has not been lost even in the imaginative literature of England and America.

And as the Anglo-Saxon *race* seems destined to be the dominant race of the future, we may hope that Anglo-Saxon *literature*, freed from its incidental impurities, will dominate also in the world of letters.

ART. III.—THE RELIGIOUS REVOLUTION OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

THE eighteenth may be regarded as an epochal century in England's long and celebrated history. Its fluctuating and unpromising civilization—the degeneracy and corruption of its political institutions—the variableness and uncertainty of its social tendencies—and both the insipidity and animation, the decline and restoration, of religious ideas among the people—attract the attention of the student of the period.

In its activities, aims, and achievements, it is a century of marked contrasts, the extremes of which are moral disorganization and religious revival. Vices flourish as luxuriantly as virtues; business stagnation balances commercial enterprise; select learning is outwitted by the common ignorance; theological independence is matched by universal depravity.

Great names adorn the records of the one hundred years. Steele, Addison, Pope, Sir Isaac Newton, Blackstone, Adam Smith, Samuel Johnson, Paley, Burke, Swift, Bolingbroke, Hume, Chesterfield, and Gibbon appear, constituting an array of brilliant thinkers and writers not eclipsed by the intellectual

giants of the Elizabethan era. Great events, discoveries, inventions, and wars—notably the war with the American colonies followed by their independence—indicate the progressive and military spirit of England; while angry contentions in parliament and changes in ministerial leadership denote political unrest and a public demand for greater liberty of thought and action. The idea of the sovereignty and the greatness of man is cherished as never before, and is announced with an elegance of phrase scarcely less attractive than the idea itself.

Great preachers are at the front emphasizing the natural and moral rights of the individual, and uncovering the doctrine of human responsibility which had been obscured under the indifferent teaching of the Established Church. Whitefield, the Wesleys, Fletcher, Venn, Robertson, Bishop Watson, Romaine, Doddridge, Warburton, Campbell, Butler, and Talbot are heard throughout the kingdom, agitating the public feeling, reviving a religious enthusiasm, and, notwithstanding their clashings and antagonisms, preparing the nation for a moral upheaval.

The result of these political struggles in parliament, of the hostile controversies among the theologians, and of the investigating spirit in literary pursuit, was the broadening of both political and religious inquiry, which culminated in new ecclesiastical movements and the pronounced necessity of religion to the nation.

Our interest in its history grows out of the relation of its events to the condition of society and the Church at the present time, both in England and America. Without the eighteenth century the nineteenth had not been. The nineteenth is the heir of the religion, the political ideas, the social manners, and churchly teachings of the eighteenth century. The doctrines, laws, usages, and, to some extent, the spirit of the one, together with its literature and scientific aims, have been transferred to the other.

Standing apart from the ages as does the eighteenth, and memorable as it is for the second Reformation of England, it is surprising that the literature of the period, especially the written history of the Church and of the religious developments of that time, is so limited, so difficult of access, and so incomplete and unsatisfactory when obtained and studied. Of great events, great personages, great changes, the revelation is sufficient;

but of historical details, even of prominent facts, there is a great paucity. Like towering peaks do great political or religious movements seem to the observer; but he must be content with general statements respecting the same, or minute descriptions of whose authenticity he is not quite assured. Hume and Macaulay suspend their histories with the close of the seventeenth century. Allison forgets the order of the events he is narrating, handing over a miscellany of facts, valuable as facts, but without declaring that inner connection which constitutes an historic plan, or the spirit of providential movements. Froude completes the reign of Elizabeth and stops. Of political historians Charles Knight alone succinctly traverses the century. Of Church historians Neander, voluminous and reliable, does not advance beyond the thirteenth century; D'Aubigné, the chief authority on the European Reformation, lays down his pen at the middle of the sixteenth century; Milner, describing the career of the Church from the time of Christ, concludes his labors with a description of the Diet at Augsburg; Pressensé, charming and elegant, does not venture beyond the limits of the apostolic mission; Southey, writing elaborately of John Wesley, devotes a solitary and ambiguous chapter to the state of religion in England during the rise of Methodism; Mosheim engages to reproduce the contents of the century, but, besides being governed by prejudice, which is always a disqualification for authentic writing, he gives little account of the ministry, save the controversies and schisms, conducted by theologians, which rent the Church. Our own Dr. Abel Stevens supplies in part the connecting links, and is authentic within his limitations, but the impartial student feels that he is writing of an individual or of a single ecclesiastical movement rather than of a country, or of a century, or of the general life of the Christian Church in England. The same observation applies to Isaac Taylor, who writes of Wesley and Methodism.

The materials for a paper on the English ministry of the eighteenth century are not easily obtained, and especially have not been anticipated or furnished by the popular writers named. A history of the essential facts, however, the later historians, such as Lecky, Wilson, Shaw, and Greene, have sought to preserve; and Church annalists, pamphleteers, and biographers have contributed incidental references which are

valuable in the making of an estimate of what the Church was, and what it accomplished during the passage of one hundred years.

The first question, then, to be settled is, How shall the century be investigated? In what form and order shall the segregated facts be presented? Is there an historical order, or are the events with which we deal an accidental grouping without logical processes and connections? If the events to be considered succeeded one another as cause and effect, or were so linked that one suggested another, the unraveling of the historic process, while it might require sagacity to discover the *nexus* where it is obscure, would be a delightful and perhaps a comparatively easy task. In that case our search would be for operating causes, or moving principles. If the century, however, is without apparent historic or providential order—if it is a chaos of proceedings, a constant collision rather than a visible development of ideas and purposes—the task, though more difficult, will be equally delightful, for it will consist in an attempt to bring order out of chaos, and to reduce the manifold manifestations of the civil and religious life of the people to a system. For system there is in all history. History is only a plan. The plan, manifest or occult, is there and always in execution. Events signify system; apparently disorderly events only a hidden plan.

Happily, the century was not chaotic, except at times in appearance, nor was it definitely regular in its development; and yet the homogeneity of its elemental forces, the juxtaposition of its varied movements, the conspicuousness of its permanent features, and the perpetuity of its religious results, justify the attempt at a simple classification of its historic phases and products.

Chronologically, it may be divided into three periods, the ruling factor of which may be religion in its enlarged and universal sense, or some central figure or personage who embodied himself in some particular movement which affected the century, or a commanding event which was the core of a vital and sovereign change or achievement. Divided in respect to its relation to religion, the three following periods will be the result: (1) The non-religious period; (2) The religious period; (3) The anti-religious, or reactionary, period. Divided with reference to a central figure, Wesley, for example, we shall

have the following: (1) The ante-Wesley period; (2) The Wesley period; (3) The post-Wesley period. Divided in view of some religious movement, as Methodism, the arrangement must be: The pre-Methodistic period; the Methodistic period; the post-Methodistic period. In substance these divisions are one, covering the same periods, embracing the same facts, and including the same order of history. Another writer, selecting the Established Church, or the Oxford University, or an archbishop, as a starting-point or basis of division, would be compelled to recognize the facts, if not the order of the facts, as here given, for it is impossible to comprehend religion in its historic phases in England from Queen Anne to George IV. without including that masterpiece of evangelistic workmanship—Methodism, with the originating work and molding influence of the Wesleys.

Not to appear as confining our observation to one range of thought, we propose to review in the order of the first division; that is, to consider the century in its relation to religion—the non-religious, the religious, and the anti-religious, or reactionary, periods of English history.

The non-religious period, beginning with Queen Anne's reign in the year 1702, spans thirty or forty years, during which there was a manifest decline of the spirit of religion, of the practice of its virtues, of a performance of its duties, and of a belief of its doctrines; and, as doctrine and life, or belief in the truth and correct living, are indissolubly joined, stagnation in morals and a growing tendency to formalism soon appeared. The national Church, itself the school of formalistic ideas and worships, and relying rather upon parliamentary support than upon the voluntary offerings of the people, became more tyrannical than ever, oppressing all non-conforming religionists with unbearable exactions and limitations, and extinguishing, by its non-aggressive spirit, all love of religious development in the souls of men. Its chief and persistent aim was to maintain itself without regard to the spread of religion, the demands of the Gospel, or the welfare of the people.

Perhaps a national Church is a divinely ordered institution, having functions which it is quite impossible for a spontaneous Church to discharge; but just what those functions are no

writer has satisfactorily pointed out. It is conceded that when spiritual life has departed from an ecclesiastical organization, or is in the process of departure, connection with the State may prove advantageous to the preservation of its form; it may continue to exist even when dead, but formal existence cannot be a substitute for spiritual life. When the Church has ceased to be spiritual it is a question if it is any longer a Church. It may observe beautiful forms of worship; its creed may have legal sanction; its ministry may be supported out of the national treasury; but æstheticism and taxation are not the criteria of Church life. The cross must not be covered with flowers; cultivated Unitarianism buries it out of sight with bouquets: it must stream with blood. A bloody, not a beautiful, cross—a spiritual, not an æsthetic, worship—a divine, not a parliamentary, creed—must enter into vital religion. These, indeed, are the forces of a true religion. Formalism, the result of national establishments, is sometimes more ruinous than, and therefore not to be preferred to, death itself; for it is a deceptive pretense, under whose blighting influence not only the Church falls into sleep, but also the world, quick to discover the deception, loses faith in the genuine manifestations of religion. If the national Church of England contributed to the preservation of religion, certainly it failed perceptibly to extend it; it aimed not at extension; it was without the missionary impulse—it lived upon itself. Even its forms lost their sanctity and were imperfectly conducted, and in many instances entirely abandoned. No warrant is given to concede that the religion of ecclesiasticism, of pure but spiritless forms, flourished openly, or exerted any considerable religious influence in the early part of the eighteenth century. It was salt that had lost its savor.

To obtain a just estimate of this period and understand the character of the forces at work to undermine true religion, we must consider England's condition in its philosophical, social, political, and religious aspects—a fourfold view, but with an underlying unity in that each aspect is related to the final determination of the period.

What was the relation of the prevailing philosophic teaching to religion? Did philosophy and religion mutually support each other, or were they antagonistic? Genuine philosophy, in

its highest attempts, is theological, for it deals with theistical and ethical problems. Both consider the unconditioned, the absolute, the infinite; both inquire concerning the soul, the limits of knowledge, and seek and suggest laws for the regulation of human conduct; both are interpreters of nature or the universe. Philosophy, in its relation to theological and ethical truth, must support or oppose religion in its relation to the same truth. It cannot be indifferent to the fundamental teachings of religion. It must be atheistic, deistic, or theistic; it must accept the spiritual character of man or plunge into materialism; it must sustain Sinai, as it voices the supreme law, or antagonize it with other commandments; it must bow to a supernaturalistic religion or frame a scientific morality. This relation is vital, sovereign, indissoluble.

What was the attitude of the English philosophy of the eighteenth century toward the Christian religion? Rugged Thomas Carlyle says: "The eighteenth was a skeptical century, in which little word there is a whole Pandora's Box of miseries." As between a reverential and skeptical philosophy, we are compelled to decide that it was the latter; it was strangely and strongly infidelic, impregnated with the poison of a hateful prejudice to all alleged supernatural truth. Deriving its impulse from the seventeenth century, and going even to the sixteenth for philosophic idioms and ideas, it yet had a complexion and motion of its own, and was equally destructive of the ancient landmarks of religion. Borrowing from Hobbes and Shaftesbury certain questionable ethical theories, it strove to undermine the popular faith in the sacredness and authority of moral distinctions; and, listening to Locke, who, employing the empirical method in the analysis of the mind's processes and operations, unintentionally but absolutely opened the gates to the rankest materialistic heresies, overwhelming disaster to the popular conceptions of immortality and responsibility followed.

These philosophers, with others, prepared the way for the more reckless assaults of Hume, Bolingbroke, Chesterfield, and Gibbon, who applied the torch to the temple of truth, smoking its oldest pillars and consuming a fragment of its altar. The work was heroic, the effect terrific, suicidal. Such lofty minds uniting in a crusade against the doctrine of revelation—that is, supernaturally-communicated truth—and holding up the insti-

tutions of religion to the scorn and calumny of the multitude, succeeded in turning the public thought from the subject of revealed truth, or exposed to their own satisfaction the hollowness of the mission of the Church in urging such truth upon the attention of men. The infidel philosophy of this period, however, must not be confounded with the scientific philosophy of the times, which, under the leadership of such an authority as Sir Isaac Newton, was in strange contrast with the former, and resisted it to the extent of its power. Scientific philosophy, or philosophical science, in his hands was a supporter of Christian truth. Science then, however, was in its rudimentary stages, and did not command the field. Even Newton's discoveries were held for some time in disrepute, and Newton himself, for a little while, doubted the reality of the law of gravitation which he announced. Science had a suspicious air, and, joining itself to religion, lost the little favor it received on its own account. Sneering Horace Walpole and the refined but poisoning Chesterfield swayed the moral sentiment of the nation, while the devoted Newton's protests were filed away for future reference.

The failure of science to resist infidelic encroachments and aid religion in its weighty tasks, though it raised its arm to strike the enemy, was owing in part to the division or antagonism of its own followers. Scientific philosophy was by no means a unit, either in its methods, purposes, results, or the form in which the results were announced. Newton himself was opposed, under the reign of George I., by Hutchinson, who, framing a perverted philosophical conception of the universe out of the Mosaic cosmogony, drew to his support many of the ablest clergymen of the kingdom, among them George Horne, Romaine, Jones, and Wetherell. What could be expected of a ministry that, incompetent to silence the scoffer and the infidel by a defense of the Scriptures, arrayed itself against that form of science which alone confirmed the Scriptures? Such is the spectacle presented in the non-religious period of England: the ministry ridiculed and overthrown by the infidel, the Bible torn in shreds by the scoffer, the institutions of religion calumniated by outspoken unbelievers, the Church abandoned by the multitudes, and science divided against itself respecting philosophical and revealed truth. If

the intellect of England was thus adrift ; if its philosophy was in the hands of infidels ; if its ministry were abetting false science ; if the nation had outgrown the necessity of a Church, and Bible truth was actually superseded by skeptical dogmatism, the decline of the morals of the nation has an easy explanation. The result, however, is exceedingly painful to contemplate, and is a commentary on the character and moral influence of philosophic infidelity.

What was the social status of England at this time ? Was it such as to conserve the spread of religion and the purposes of the Gospel, or were the social forces in antagonism to religious education and discipline ? England then, even more than now, cherished the aristocratic spirit which divided the people, arraying on one side the nobles, lords, and princes, and on the other the multitudes. Social life, social manners, social opinions, originated with the aristocratic classes ; the court, with its stiffness and sternness, was in power. But scientific and philosophic truths are not dependent upon aristocratic approval for favor or authority, since the test of truth is not human opinion of it, but its own essence, or the form of its manifestation. Truth proves itself. Religion, however, as taught, or as a dogmatic deduction from the Scriptures, was subject to the aristocratic rule of opinion, and was lowered to the level of social ideas and sanctions. It must obtain the consent of the aristocracy or be powerless. Religious truth, in itself, is as independent of opinion as scientific truth, and is to be tested by its own merits ; but while the aristocracies submitted to philosophic truth, and went down with it, they compelled religious truth, as it was taught, to submit to them, and so wrested it to their destruction. Religious truth had favor or disfavor as the aristocracy nodded assent or withheld it. Unfortunately the aristocracies of the country were unfriendly to evangelical religion. Submitting to an unfriendly and perverted philosophy, it was natural that they should reject the religion which it condemned. The animadversions on religion of the Duchess of Buckingham, the criticisms of Whitefield by Dr. Samuel Johnson, and the peculiar social trials of Lady Huntingdon, reveal the iniquitous condition of the upper classes in England, and that they preferred infidelity to religion.

Let us not be understood as implying that there were no

brave spirits in this period of decline, or that nothing was done to check the declension. Christian philosophers resisted the skeptical philosophy; Christian ministers sorrowed over the decadence of Christianity; of aristocratic families, not a few mourned over the lapse of evangelical religion, and the disappearance of personal piety; but in general, from Queen Anne, who favored the Established Church against all dissenting classes, though it was a lifeless institution, down through all grades of society, there was little reverence for religious truth, and none whatever for the forms of religious worship. There was a social religion in England, but not a *religious* religion. The social, the high-toned, classes, the aristocracies, and royalty itself, were unacquainted with true religion, and by the force of a resistless influence suppressed its first manifestations.

The politics of the country—what support was found for religion here? Was it not the province of Parliament to sustain the Established Church, to support its ministers, to see that the forms of religion were publicly observed, and that public morality was promoted? In other words, while philosophy was dictating the submission of religion to its own primary settlements of moral questions, and while the social forces were corrupt and corrupting, did not Parliament, the source of power, the guardian of the Church, and the promoter of religion, arrest all decline and keep perforce the nation on its knees before God? Something is required to resist the progress of decay; will the State religion prevent its own overthrow? Here we meet a failure where success is imperative in order to prevent a collapse of the national life.

The century began with political disputes between the Whigs and Tories, and ecclesiastical hostilities between the Orthodox and Sectaries, or the Established Church and Dissenters. Under Queen Anne the politico-religious contest was exceedingly complicated from the fact that while the Tories sympathized with the national Church and controlled the pulpits of the country, the Whigs were in political power and controlled legislation.

In Parliament the Dissenters were in the majority, so that the national Churchmen were often rebuked and outvoted; in the national Church the Tories were in the majority, so that the Dissenters were crushed. In this mixed and apparently evenly-

balanced condition of affairs, a Tory clergyman, Dr. Henry Sacheverell, assuming a fatal independence, ventured to preach a stirring sermon against the Dissenters, whereupon the Whig majority in the House of Commons silenced him for three years. The agitation thus precipitated was unfavorable to calm religious inquiry, and disastrous to the hitherto unbroken power of the Church. In so far as it was a conflict between the Established Church and Parliament, or between politics and religion, politics triumphed. In so far as it was a conflict between Nationalists and Dissenters, the latter triumphed. In both cases the popular result was an effective blow at the national Church; but the decline of the national Church was the decline of the national religion. This conflict did not terminate with Queen Anne's reign, but was intensified by the sympathy of George I., of the House of Hanover, with the Whigs, or dissenting classes. The new king was a Lutheran in faith, and, caring little for the Church of England, the Whigs found in him an unexpected and influential ally, and used him to their advantage and to the widening of the gulf between the two religious classes of the realm. In time so wide became the gap between the Orthodox and Sectaries, as Mosheim calls them, that the Dissenters made a bold dash for liberty, but, advancing heroically, they were not entirely successful. Dr. Benjamin Hoadley bravely introduced a new controversy by preaching a sermon on Christ's kingdom, in which he maintained that the Church should be free from the State; he virtually declared for disestablishment, but it did not prevail. That such a doctrine could be preached in safety one hundred and fifty years ago was a sign of the times and a warning to the national Church, which, however, it did not heed. At the same time an attempt was made to relieve the Dissenters of all religious tests, a just movement intended to put them on an equality with the Churchmen; it was only partially successful, for while the test oath was annulled, the sacramental oath, quite as odious, remained.

The result of these controversies was, on the whole, advantageous to free religion, but it must be understood that they were in spirit rather political than religious. Religion was secondary; there were no more prayers offered, no more souls converted, during the exciting contests than before. Religion

may have gained certain political rights, but politics gained nothing from religion. The spirituality of the people steadily declined with the assertion of political rights, and the extension of religious privileges. The outcome was not redemptive.

To the Church itself, then, let us go in search of religion. If it cannot be found among the philosophers, in the social aristocracies, or in parliament or politics, surely the Church itself will be true to its character, and reflect the image and excellences of Christ. If disappointed here, then we shall be ready to crave the advent of reformers.

Let us not be over-sanguine of a favorable discovery. To estimate the religious condition of England at this time, it must be remembered that, as we have shown, the public feeling was in a state of irreconciliation with religion, or of positive disloyalty to the Established Church, the keeper of the religious covenants. Philosophy, aristocracy, and royalty itself in some of its branches, combined in a peremptory warfare against religious ideas and the forms of worship. The aggravating feature of the opposition was its openly avowed infidelic purpose, and not infrequently its intense and contagious immoral character. What produced this state of things? Was religion responsible, in any degree, for the opposition that was raised against it? Is there any thing in religion calculated to provoke sedition? Was the Church immoral in conduct, defective in doctrinal teaching, unholy in its programme of living, giving occasion for infidelity to attack it, and the aristocracy to abandon it? Or did infidelity, atheism, and immorality exist in society, and finally corrupt and disintegrate the Church? A corrupt and immoral ministry, or an infidelic philosophy and corrupt aristocracy—which existed first? Which was antecedent? which consequent? Disregarding the order of the religious subsidence in England, certain it is that it was not the result of superficial or suddenly appearing causes; it was not hastily precipitated, but originated in a moral dissipation and coquetry with skeptical questionings which, imperceptible in influence at first, grew in force and acquired courage enough at last to demand the surrender of all that is vital in religion. The ethically unsound teachings and the gross immoralities of the aristocracies of the seventeenth century passed over into the eighteenth, without resistance or protest. Not even the

sturdy Puritanism of that day, which contested the claims of the Papal Church, stood out against the corrupt invasion of the previous century; in fact, it was vicious itself, and the Puritan Churches fell into both doctrinal and ethical decay. A catastrophe whose magnitude it is difficult to adequately estimate, now imperiled the whole Church; the Church itself was in the last stages of dissolution.

To understand the extent of the disaster inflicted by the hostile forces of infidelity and corruption without, and the disintegrating forces of indifference and immorality within, the Church, we append the statements of those who, either as observers or historians, were qualified to judge of conditions and results, and are known as trustworthy reporters of the same. "There is no such thing as religion in England," Montesquieu declared in 1730, and added, "If any one speaks about religion every body begins to laugh." Dr. Kirk reports that, according to the essayists of the period, "the moral virtues of the nation were at their last gasp." Both dissenting and national ministers agreed that "religion was dying in the world," and Christianity was interpreted as a huge fable. In these uncontradicted expressions are the proofs of a universal decline of respect for religious truth, and the positive reign of an immoral tendency in the public and private life of the people.

In the theater the most repulsive and shameless wit obtained; in the Church clergymen like Swift and Sterne indulged in indecent jesting. Among the poets Dryden, always vacillating in his religious affinities, gave respectability to vicious ballads; among the novelists Smollett and Fielding contributed to the general demoralization. Dr. Dobbin, of the Dublin University, may be quoted for the saying, that the Church and the world were alike asleep. Macaulay depicts the demoralization of the preceding age in a startling manner and with a marvelous fullness of immoral exposures; while William Massey states, that the depravity of England from George I. was not exceeded by that of the Roman Empire in the days of its decline. Thackeray confirms with specific accounts the appalling representation. Bishop Burnet declares that "the clergy (of the Established Church) were under more contempt than those of any other Church in Europe." Watts, seeing deeper than others, states that "there was a general

decay of vital religion in the hearts and lives of men;" and another re-echoes the same truth by saying that "the Spirit of God has so far departed from the nation that hereby almost all vital religion is lost out of the world." Dr. Guire's testimony is, that "Christianity is ridiculed and railed at with very little reserve, and the teachers of it without any at all." Stronger than this is the declaration of Bishop Butler: "It has come to be taken for granted that Christianity is no longer a *subject of inquiry*, but that now at length it is discovered to be fictitious;" and respecting the clergy, Southey remarks, that they "had lost that authority which may always command at least the appearance of respect."

Such is the concurrent testimony of the ablest divines, and the most reliable writers of the period, revealing a melancholy condition of society, and the triumph of skepticism and immorality in the nation. The sum of it is, that Christianity is a fiction, the clergymen are in contempt, spirituality is unknown, vice is on the throne, and religion in any form has departed. The Church is dead.

Was the age altogether insensible to its rottenness? Was nothing done to check the sway of irreligion? Certain periodicals, the "Spectator," the "Rambler," and the "Tattler," were established by Addison, Steele, and Samuel Johnson, which aimed volleys of criticism at the follies of the day and exposed immoralities without plainly denouncing them. Besides, the criticisms were in the form of essays, sometimes too elegantly written, or too pregnant with obstructions to engage the public mind, and when clear-cut and retributive in spirit, they neutralized their effect by wit and apology. It must be remembered, too, that these publications were not specifically religious, nor established in the interest of the Church. They were useful in calling attention to existing evils, but suggested no adequate remedy and initiated no suppressive influence.

What were the clergy doing during these days of decay? Some of them were reading the sermons that Dr. Samuel Johnson had written for them; all of them, abandoning the doctrines of the Reformation, were preaching—when they preached, which was not often—the doctrines of natural religion. Revealed religion the pulpit discarded; piety it did not

encourage ; immorality it condoned. Apologetically, Mosheim says the clergy of the Establishment *sunk into lukewarmness*, and represents that they were concerned for the Church and not religion. For incomplete statements, distorted facts, and unfair inferences, commend us to Mosheim ; but for full, frank, courageous representations of the irreligious Establishment, we must look elsewhere. Under George I. the atheistic attacks on religion were repelled, he says, by Waterland, Foster, and other able theologians ; that William Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, wrote against Bolingbroke, and that Campbell and Adams replied to Hume. Accepting his statement, they prove that God was not without witnesses in the midst of the civilized heathenism of England ; but he does not, he cannot, contradict the concurrent testimony of the writers given in a previous paragraph, that the Church was spiritless, religion had vanished from the nation, and infidelity and immorality, joined together in purpose, were sharing the profits of victory in the decadence of the empire. Isaac Taylor says, England had lapsed into virtual heathenism when (in 1740) Wesley appeared.

As when Christ was manifested the Roman world was corrupt, degenerate, "dead in trespasses and sins," so England, apostatized, infidelic, and immoral, was in need of a reformer, a teacher, a helper. England was ripe for a religious revolution. Come it must ; it was the only thing that could come. If the way is not open for a reformer—if John Wesley was not raised up to save England to the Church and religion to England—the doctrine of providential interposition in behalf of the Church has no illustration in human history. The non-religious period, with its moral defalcations, inferiorities, and crudities, is succeeded after severe trials and struggles by a period of religious development and resplendent spiritual conquests.

The consideration of this auspicious period in England's history, with its central figures and industrial spirit, is now in order. England's need was a second reformation. It had put away the first ; it must return or begin anew. In Oxford University were a few young men who, enthusiastically grieving over the moral anarchy of society, determined upon personal reform, so far as they were concerned, and began at once a serious study of the Bible ; but they were ridiculed and were called in derision *Bible-moths*. One of these young men, John Wesley,

always courageous when opposed, saw at a glance what was first needed, namely, a revival of religion in the Established Church. Of that Church he was an unconverted member, but he was disturbed by what he saw without, and even more by what he recognized within, its pale. In the incipient state of his religious purpose there was no idea of organizing a new movement, or founding an independent Church. The old Church was good enough in doctrine, strong enough in mechanical form, and numerous enough in its adherents, if it only had religious life, to accomplish the needed revolution; but he soon found that the Church had no desire for religion and had repudiated common morality. The fire burned in his bones and he could not rest. The Gospel, believed or rejected, must be preached in the Church or out of it, for the Church or against it; and so commenced the struggle between a pure evangelism and a base apostasy; between revealed religion and natural religion; between holiness and sin.

Not for some time did Wesley appear like the nucleus of a great providential movement; his preaching was that of one man, and yet it proved to be the call of another Elijah to the nation. Laborers gathered about him; preachers multiplied; revivals, akin to those of apostolic times, burst out in unexpected places, and triumphed over all opposition; hundreds and thousands were converted; and the old Established Church became alarmed. In a spirit of infuriated jealousy, and with the strength of a lion, it determined to crush the supernatural signs and preserve itself from crumbling into dust. This hostility alone proves the old Church destitute of godliness, exposes the spirit of cruelty that animated it, reveals its deep-seated hypocrisy in all its shameless phases, and justifies the evangelistic work of Mr. Wesley. An Episcopalian, as Mr. Wesley was and always was, the pulpits of his own Church were denied him, and he was compelled to preach in the open air, or in barns and mines, or in the homes of the people. This, however, proved to be providential, for he was heard by the multitudes, and a great awakening was the result. As if to put a sudden stop to the spread of religion, Wesley and his preachers were often arrested as disturbers of the peace, many of them were fined, some were imprisoned, and Wesley himself was stoned. In spite of these obstructions revivals continued

and the word of God prevailed ; churches were built ; heroic workers increased daily ; and the prospect of an independent Church dawned upon the national mind. The common classes were easily reached and impressed ; the aristocracies were invaded and captures were not infrequent ; royalty itself heard the thunder of the Gospel and trembled, or felt the cold wave of condemnation and shivered. Lady Huntingdon was raised up to assist with her influence and patronage in the evangelization of England, and she personally led many lords and nobles with their families to the Lord Jesus Christ. What shall be said of Whitefield, Fletcher, Romaine, and the eccentric Berridge, and William Grimshaw, and Madan, and Maxwell, and Nelson, and a host of co-workers raised up to proclaim the Gospel and save the nation ?

Evangelists rapidly increasing, and defections from the Established Church daily occurring, it was not long before England, cold, impassive, and steeped in immorality, was aroused, presenting in the great moral agitation which irresistibly prevailed a striking contrast with its former debased and spiritless condition. The religious movement, emerging from an obscure beginning, developed with wonderful rapidity, its chief aim being the restoration of religion to the nation. In no sense was it an attempt on the part of its conductors or instruments to revive ecclesiasticism, of which the nation had had enough ; but its purpose was to re-instate the reign and authority of religion. Singularly, the public desire for the restoration of the religious idea became soon as intense as it had been for its abrogation or dethronement ; the movement, too, took a spontaneous character, and was wanting in precise ecclesiastical methods, which, exciting the wrath of the old Church dignitaries, proceeded in its work of conquest until its triumph was proclaimed. In this unmethodical uprising there is little sign of human calculation ; it bears the mark of a divine development, which neither legislation nor persecution could resist or overcome. All England is aroused, spontaneously aroused, divinely quickened, and the nation is saved.

If we should confine this moral and pervading agitation to Wesley and his followers, or to dissentients alone, we should overlook the magnitude of God's work and do injustice to many honored instruments in its success. Standing in the foreground

is John Wesley; he is the central figure of the revolution; in him is the spirit of leadership; and without him the religious movement had waned, and perhaps had utterly failed. At the same time the movement received augmenting force in the labors and sacrifices of others, both of the same and a different faith, which deserve recognition. Even in the national Church were those who quaked with fear and studied the solemn signs of revival with an apprehension that it was from God.

In the general, however, the authorities of the old Church, the archbishops principally, regarded the propagation of the Gospel by other than their own methods as a usurpation of their rights, and so they lent small favor to the regenerating attempt of the Wesleys.

In the course of events it came to pass that this great religious uprising, somewhat miscellaneous in character, and without ecclesiastical order, must centralize itself under special leaders, and assume for its own preservation a distinct name. Opposed by the old Church, the uprising was felt within its bounds; extending itself beyond the Church, it was receiving the warmest welcome; and it was natural that to all observers it should appear as an outside and independent movement. Had the old Church embraced it, sanctioning at least its spirit, and confining it within its own realm, it had been known in history as a revival within the Church, but sanction being withheld it is known as an outside, or the Methodist, revival of the eighteenth century. It was thrust out; the old Church expelled it as it would a traitorous spirit; and it necessarily organized itself into an independent movement.

By virtue of its organic independence, however, it invoked the more demonstrative opposition of the Church Establishment, which determined upon its extinction. In its incipient or sporadic stages, ridicule was the weapon employed against it; but as it advanced in popular favor, silencing somewhat the menacing criticisms of the authorities, social ostracism and condemnation were turned against it; and when assuming independence it stood alone, legislation and the national spirit combined for its overthrow. The existence of a new Church organism, exhibiting a superior religious character, and aiming at specific religious ends, was regarded by the formal worshippers of the Establishment as a menace, as a disloyal

organization whose suppression by law would be justified. In vain, however, the restrictive legislation of statesmen; in vain the upbraiding fulminations of the arch-episcopal boards; in vain the critical appeals of the old pulpits: God was in the movement, the nation needed it, and it thrived in proportion as it was opposed until it regenerated the nation, silenced infidelity, and stanchd the floods of immorality.

But Wesleyanism, having suffered from without, was now exposed to trial from within, which threatened serious disaster, but which proved to be the providential means of its purification and stability. Since its assumption of a definite form or organization, it had maintained the appearance of unity, notwithstanding the assaults from the national ecclesiastics; it had but one heart, one purpose, and, finally, one method; and unified in every particular, it awakened England. The spirit of doctrinal difference now sprang up in the midst, leading to division, if not to formal schisms, though happily not to decay or destruction. Without portraying at length the causes of division, it is sufficient to note that Mr. Wesley was a strict Arminian in the interpretation of the Scriptures, while Mr. Whitefield, although a Methodist in spirit, purpose, and influence, was a Calvinist, as respects the doctrine of predestination. On this rock the close and mutually helpful friendship of the two leaders was partially shattered. Mr. Whitefield became known as a "Calvinistic Methodist," the name being applied to a sect which immediately organized and arrayed itself against the more powerful organization of Mr. Wesley. The announcement of the theological difference of the two parties was the beginning of the controversial period of Methodism in England, which continued with alternating results until the close of the life and labors of Mr. Wesley. Mr. Whitefield was eloquent and forcible, and espousing Calvinistic tenets, it gave him for the time an extensive influence among the Presbyterians, whom he excited to a holy living and a more earnest piety. Lady Huntingdon, with her vast social prestige, withdrew from the Wesleyan movement, establishing one of her own, and co-operating to some extent with Mr. Whitefield, with whom she sympathized in his departure from Wesley; and so unfriendly did Wesley and Lady Huntingdon become, because of their doctrinal separation, that they did not meet in twenty years.

But this Calvinistic Methodism, unnatural and self-contradictory as it was, and dividing the Wesleyan movement as it did, was short lived, while Wesleyanism held the field, all the stronger since its doctrinal life had been tested and preserved. New conflicts, however, awaited it for which it seemed prepared. There arose, as a mere speck in the sky, a form of religion known as Moravian Methodism, which delighted in discipline, in excessive zeal, and indulged in so many objectionable teachings and practices that neither Wesley nor Whitefield could countenance it. We only notice it in passing as it appears on the page of history, for it was not specially obstructive of the Wesleyan movement; it needed guidance more than repression. During this controversial period of Methodism, resulting in an examination of what it taught and proposed to accomplish, other Churches partook of the same spirit, so that it became a controversial age, finally involving all the Churches of the kingdom.

In addition to the usual errors, Arianism and Socinianism, which had to be combated, Swedenborgianism, Shakerism, and Universalism disputed the Church's progress, and only yielded after it became evident that further resistance was useless. In Scotland there was a secession under the leadership of Mr. Glass from the Presbyterian Church, giving rise to the Congregationalists, who rapidly increased in England. The Baptists, under Mr. Whiston, announcing immersion as the only mode of baptism, boasted of not inconsiderable successes; while Francis Blackburne, a clergyman of the Establishment, attacked the idea of a religious creed, which was a thunderbolt aimed at the Thirty-nine Articles. Every Church had a struggle within itself, and was engaged in a war with the errors outside. This controversial period, somewhat rancorous and divisive in spirit, was not without valuable fruits, and during its continuance the Church advanced throughout the kingdom. It was an age of inquiry; controversy promoted investigation; investigation undermined error and established the truth. Painful as were the causes which originated Calvinistic Methodism, it is historically accurate to say that it had a mission which Wesleyan Methodism alone might not have accomplished. While the latter was resisted by the national Church, the former, by its affiliating tenets, captured some of its best men.

Berridge, Toplady, Talbot, Newton, Venn, Romaine, and a host of others were influenced by the movement under Whitefield; and as the result of that movement the Low-Church party in the Church of England took its rise. Methodism, by its controversial division, effectually divided the old Church, an end which Wesley did not contemplate. By this division Christianity on its spiritual side found way to the heart of the old Establishment, and extended itself among the lords and nobles of the land, insuring a conciliatory spirit and a wholesome moral tone where before neither existed. Religion flourished again in the Church, and certainly was progressing outside of it.

That these controversies were not as obstructive of the progress of Christianity as controversies sometimes have been, may be explained by the fact that they were in no wise political. These were not Whig and Tory contests. Parliament could not decide doctrinal differences, and ceased to legislate respecting them. The contest as a whole was religious; it was not a warfare over forms, or a dispute over church government, but an inquiry concerning the truth, or an interpretation of the Bible, which more than any thing else, England, in the later years of the period, needed. The first purpose of Wesleyanism was the revival of spirituality, which was secured by prayer, repentance, and faith; the second object was the revival of pure doctrine, which was secured by controversy. What the spiritual revival failed to accomplish the doctrinal revival aided to secure; the revival itself was spiritual, the sequel of the revival was doctrinal; and so having given to England both spirituality and doctrinal intelligence, it left the kingdom at the close of Mr. Wesley's life in a condition far better than he found it. In the first period of the century religion was a quiescent force—the Church was shrouded in forms, the ministry were corrupt and immoral; revealed religion had small place in the hearts of the people; formalism, apostasy, vice, infidelity, atheism, and all their bitter fruits of disorder, wretchedness, and social disintegration, prevailed throughout the kingdom, contaminating parliament, corrupting the aristocracies, and loading society with the woes and miseries of general demoralization. With Wesley's advent a change was inaugurated which culminated in a moral revolution in the history of England. Religion's voice was heard again in the land; the

Church was born again; the ministry sought a genuine Christian experience; revealed truth was preached as the all-vital source of salvation; infidelity was confined to books; formalism was superseded by piety; and vice literally surrendered to the popular demand for righteousness. With all the drawbacks to a progressive religious movement in the eighteenth century, it may be said that England owes its regeneration in that century to the activity of the Wesleyan reformation and its associate forces.

After fifty years of earnest Christian work—after the struggles and successes of half a century—the great leader, John Wesley, dies, and we are at once confronted with the new and last era of the eighteenth century. From 1791 to 1800, the short period of nine years, we see England under the influence of a different spirit, and again in the greatest moral danger.

The third period is the anti-religious, or post-Wesleyan, period in England's history. The French Revolution, aiming at the subversion of monarchical principles, was in progress and enlisted popular attention throughout Europe. England was soon affected by it. It at once disturbed her political quietude, turning the public mind from religion to politics, and finally absorbed the thought of the nation. Even the ministry engaged in pulpit discussions of the principles of the Revolution, exciting the people more and more with each succeeding discussion. Many dissenting clergymen and a few Churchmen hailed the revolution as the omen of good to the continent, and likewise to the world, and supported it, although it was antagonistic to English absolutism. At the same time the recent triumph of democratic principles in America had scarcely less effect in England in leading people to consider the propriety of the introduction of democratic ideas among themselves. The government was alarmed, for revolution was imminent.

A still more threatening influence visited England, attacking especially its moral basis and its religious life. At that time Thomas Paine was the most popular man of the age. He was popular in the United States as a patriot, popular in France as a statesman, popular in England as a scholar, and while his fame was at its maximum he corrupted the nations with his infidelity. It took root in France and ended in the Revolution; it grew in England, and almost precipitated a crisis. We do

not witness the revival of infidelity and the subversion of religion throughout the kingdom, but we do see the power of infidelity over the higher classes, and the effect of the French Revolution on the lower classes. These two forces—the Revolution a political force, Infidelity a *quasi*-moral force—each antagonistic to the other, seemed for the time to suspend, or at the least quiet, the influence of the higher political and moral forces in existence in England, and as a consequence spiritual activity diminished, and the Church engaged in no new enterprises. It had the effect of temporarily turning the public attention from religion to irreligion, which was ominous of the disturbance of the religious foundations of society. Paineism had its successes, creating the expectation of a speedy return to irreligion. The period of suspense, however, was fortunately of limited duration; in its sober moments the nation had no thought of returning to infidelity or plunging into irreligion; it therefore survived all attacks, resisted the threatened invasion of the infidelic spirit, and closed the century firm in the faith, and resolute in its loyalty to God.

The century began under Queen Anne with a condensed denial of religious faith; it closed under George III. illumined by gospel truth and walking in the Lord's ways. Under the former, Church ministers were public functionaries who drew their salaries and made light of religion; under the latter, they were the messengers of God who defended the Gospel and preached Christ to all the people. Marvelous change! Who but God could have breathed into the ministry the Spirit of life? Who but the Head of the Church could have conducted the new movement through obstructions so many and embarrassing to its consummation in a religious revolution?

The lessons that may be drawn from the eighteenth century will close the presentation of this subject.

1. The duty of the ministry in times of spiritual degeneracy, formalism, and indifference in the Church, is clearly indicated by the occurrences of the century herein considered. Without enterprise, without spirituality, without moral heroism and enthusiasm in the ministry, there will be a declension of all that is vital in the religious life. In the absence of religious enthusiasm and aggressiveness in the Church, the ministry must assume the defense of the truth, and inspire the gospel spirit

in the followers of Christ. Whatever the condition of the Church, the ministry as leaders must be heroes, enthusiasts, reformers, and prophets of the Lord, pure in their hearts, blameless in their lives, ethically sound in their teachings, and altogether inspiring in their activities. A pure ministry insures a pure Church.

2. The combination of religion and politics, as objects of pursuit or participation by the ministry, cannot be justified, except in national emergencies. In the non-religious period of England's history the ministry were Tories or Whigs, and the contests were political rather than religious, in the midst of which religion disappeared. In the last period of the century political principles absorbed the attention of the ministry, and the nation descended perilously near to an anti-religious condition. Governmental affairs belong to statesmen; the affairs of Christ's kingdom belong to the ministry. Except in war or great calamities, the ministry should not depart from a strict adherence to their functions as spiritual leaders of the people.

This position justifies the additional remark, that in civilized countries there is no need of a National or Established Church. Under the English Establishment England was ruined; under a non-national but independent religious organization it was regenerated. Political Churchism, or State religions, cannot and should not be much longer maintained. Disestablishment is the demand of the hour.

3. The darkest periods of the Church are usually succeeded by great awakenings and reformations. It was so in the time of Jonah, who was commissioned to go to Nineveh and declare its destruction. That great city, whose cup of iniquity was nearly full, hearkening unto the prophet, turned unto the Lord and was saved. It was so in the time of Christ; the world itself was sunken in the depths of heathenism; then the Saviour appeared and the adversary for a time ceased his roaring. It was so in the time of Luther; the Roman Catholic Church was the nursery of vice and crime; then the light of the Reformation shone brightly on the darkness, and the people were saved. So was it in England when religion had almost expired and Wesley appeared. This teaches us that God will not suffer his Church to perish, but will revive it "in the midst of the years."

4. A maximum religious condition may be followed by reactions. Belief may be followed by infidelity. The dragon may be let loose after the millennium. But the reaction that follows religion is never as great as the reaction from infidelity; the ebbing tide is always followed by an incoming wave greater than the receding, so that there is perpetual gain amid the reactions of religion.

5. The Church may flourish in an apparently divided state. There is room for denominationalism in the world. In those nations where the denominational spirit is strong, Christianity thrives the most, as in the United States and England; while in nations where the Church is an organic unit, as in Roman Catholic countries, there is neither civil nor moral progress. Wesleyanism may have suffered temporarily by its divisions, but Christianity on the whole has not been embarrassed by them, but rather flourished under them. Organic unity among all the branches of the Christian Church is perhaps not desirable; mutual love among them, however, is possible.

6. In most cases the remedy for wide spread apostasy is a new evangelical awakening. If existing religious institutions are unable to resist the advances of infidelity, or turn back the tide of immorality, then, in God's providence, the old must give way to the new, or the ruin becomes universal. On this principle we explain the Reformation and the rise of Methodism, and it will apply to the future. If the Christianity that is in custody of the Churches to-day will not save the nations, then it is probable that another religious organization will appear which will accomplish the tasks of the Gospel. This teaches us to be faithful.

7. The inspirer of all reformation is the Holy Spirit. In the central period of the eighteenth century, embracing fifty years, God's hand guided, and God's power preserved, the religion of the people. Without the supernatural presence, the spiritual illumination, and the directing supervision of the Church's everlasting Founder, religion is utterly vain, faith becomes a superstition, the ministry are without a mission, and the Church itself a lifeless form. Let it be ours to carry forward the purposes committed to us, to give redemption to the people and fill the world with the echoing joy of a universal salvation.

ART. IV.—RAILROADS AND CIVILIZATION.

MANY persons now living well remember when railroads were unknown. Their possibility had dawned upon the American mind quite early in the century. In 1804 Cadwallader D. Colden, probably a grandson of the first Surveyor-General of the Colonies, and himself a civil engineer, said: "The time will come when, on tramways, loaded carriages will be propelled by horses at a speed of not less than six miles an hour." His words were prophetic. Twenty-five years later cars were propelled by steam at a speed of twenty-five or thirty miles an hour. The tramways came later, but they are now of world-wide use.

Within half a century from their origin, railroads became the chief, almost the only, means of transporting passengers and freight overland, for long distances, in all civilized countries, and now the existing railroads have a mileage of nearly three hundred thousand miles, a distance equal to eleven and a half times the circuit of the world.

It is not generally known by the present generation that strong opposition displayed itself in the beginning against the building of railroads. It arose, in large part, from unwarranted apprehensions that somehow the new departure would work injury to existing material or social interests. These fears were long since proved to have been entirely groundless, yet for the time they were as effective as though well founded. The objections urged were various and remarkable. As we consider them now, they appear frivolous and amusing.

By superseding horse-power to a large degree, it was urged that railroads would depreciate the value of horses and destroy the market for them. As a matter of fact, the exact reverse has resulted. Good horses were slow sale then at from \$100 to \$150 each. The same style of horses now readily command from \$250 to \$500 each. It is true that money had then a higher purchasing power than now, but the uses and the value of the horse are certainly not less, relatively, than they were a half-century ago.

The railroad has relieved the horse from road transportation of freight and passengers over long distances, leaving to him other and profitable work, in city and country, in hack and

dray and farm service. In these ways, and also for delivery wagons and pleasure driving, although steam-cars in our country are doing the work of forty million horses, still horses are in demand, and there are more than ten millions of them in profitable use. The horse has not been superseded. He is yet recognized as the noble and useful animal of the home and the farm, steadily increasing in value and in the public estimation.

It was objected, moreover, that railroads would injure the agricultural business of the country by rendering the oat crop valueless, for it was urged that as horses would be practically dispensed with, there would be no demand for horse-feed. The contrary has been proved true. Oats have steadily advanced until now, bringing nearly three times as much per bushel as formerly. It was further strenuously objected that the demand and the wages for daily labor would fall off should railroads become general. All know that this objection has been refuted by the facts.

A more serious, and as it has proved a better grounded, fear was, that the large amount of capital invested in railroads would combine to oppress and injure the people, by levying exorbitant rates of fares for freight and passenger transportation, and by becoming also a corrupting element in politics. This apprehension was pronounced idle, for it was argued, on the contrary, that competition would prevent extortion and would keep prices down to reasonable figures.

This argument was re-enforced by the obvious fact, that almost all the railroads first built were short and independent, and often competing, roads. Thus, from Albany to Schenectady, sixteen miles over "the incline," was one road; thence to Utica, seventy-five miles, was another; from Utica to Syracuse, fifty-two miles, another; thence to Auburn, twenty-six miles, and thence to Rochester and to Buffalo, were separate roads with distinct officers and rates. The same state of things was true of the earlier railroads in Ohio and in other parts of the country. But it did not long so continue. In a few years the New York Central had absorbed and consolidated all these short, separate roads under one, with a single direction. When it was feared or found that the local rates would be, or that they were, too high and oppressive, the Legislature limited

the price of passage on that road to two cents per mile for all distances. The price of freights was also alike limited.

To compete with the Central road, and to furnish the southern counties of New York and the northern counties of Pennsylvania railroad facilities, the Erie road was chartered and constructed. The work was begun in some sections by driving piles into the solid ground as a road-bed for the ties and rails. By this time, however, so controlling already had the railroad legislative lobby become, that it was found impossible to limit the fares to two cents per mile. They were fixed at three cents.

The Baltimore and Ohio, Pennsylvania, and other great trunk lines succeeded. Sharp and healthy competition, as would naturally be supposed, was expected. It has not been realized. On the contrary, parallel roads have combined, pooling expenses and receipts and drawing out pro rata amounts. Railroad legislation in the State and in the nation has, to a very large extent, been molded and directed by railroad lobbyists using money freely, and securing legislation not in the interests of the people, but of gigantic moneyed corporations. Railroad competition, so confidently predicted and so naturally expected, has not been realized. Instead, combination and monopoly have been the rule.

Railroads have wrought great changes in all our business lines, as well as in our social and moral condition as a people. These changes have been so gradual as to be almost imperceptible. They have been fifty years in coming. Since they began, a generation and a half have passed away. As might be supposed, those now living under middle age can hardly realize the number and significance of the changes so wrought. Let us consider some of them.

- Railroads have changed the frontiers and practically destroyed them. All the great inland territory of the country is practically nearer the sea-boards, Atlantic and Pacific, than eastern Ohio and western New York and Pennsylvania were to the Atlantic half a century ago. The completion of four lines to the Pacific has made the East and the West one. Red River of the North with its fertile wheat belt, and Colorado with its silver and gold, and New Mexico and Arizona with their great mineral wealth, are no longer frontier regions. They are as cen-

tral points for all the purposes of commerce and travel as were Ohio or Illinois only a few years ago. Settlement and production have been stimulated by these multiplied transcontinental and other lines, until there is hardly any part of our wide domains, south of Alaska, which is not habitable and inhabited, tillable and tilled. The agricultural resources of the country have been augmented and developed to an incredible extent by these roads traversing all parts of our territory.

Railroads have developed our unpeopled territories to an astonishing extent. Twenty-five years ago the country from the Mississippi westward to the Sacramento was a wilderness, traversed by wild animals, Indians, and hunters. To-day it is almost a continuous settlement between those great rivers, and from the Mexican line to British Columbia, fourteen hundred miles away.

Railroads have facilitated, if indeed they have not largely caused, the amazing growth of large cities as centers of trade and business. The forwarding of produce, construction establishments for making and renewing the rolling stock of the roads, and large manufactories, assisted by means of transportation lines, have gathered and concentrated capital and population, creating populous cities, or largely augmenting those already existing. Buffalo, Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Omaha are examples of central and western cities owing their magnitude and their rapid growth to radiating or terminating railways. Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore are perhaps as much indebted to their inland railway lines as to their ocean lines for their commercial greatness and wealth. Whether this centralization of business and capital and population is better and safer than a more general distribution of them is a problem awaiting solution. Our large cities are most difficult factors in our republican institutions. They seriously menace our morality, safety, and civilization.

With the supersession of wagon and stage transportation of freight and passengers over long reaches and between far-distant points, turnpikes and stage lines have disappeared. In place of the taverns at the cross-roads and hamlets stands the saloon, a modern feature of our civilization, with its blinded doors and windows, so that its cruel and deadly work may proceed unseen and unhindered.

Distances between places and directions to places by wagon roads are becoming comparatively unknown, except within narrow areas. If one were traveling by private conveyance over the highways, and he were within a dozen miles of the place of destination, and he should inquire the distance and the route to it of half a dozen different persons, he would get no two answers alike, and the distances given would vary from five miles to twenty. The great thoroughfares of the earlier times, as the "Great Western Pike," the "Genesee Pike," the "Cumberland Road," and the "National Road," and the distances and courses of the places on them, were formerly very familiar, not only to dwellers upon them, but to persons in all parts of the country. All this is now entirely changed. Scarcely any persons travel by stage or hack, not many by private carriage.

The traveling by families, whether for longer or shorter distances, is now almost entirely by rail. This is true of nearly all excursion and pleasure traveling, and especially of all business travel. The railroad train is the commercial traveler's home for a large part of his time. Thousands of them are seen on all the great railway lines!

Railroads save much time and labor. A man has business to do in a place five hundred miles away. He goes, effects his errand, and returns within two days. By carriage or on horseback the trip would require twenty-five days of exhausting, wearisome travel. This great economy of time and nerve and muscle is certainly a most important and desirable change, and it is wonderfully affecting the settlement and improvement of our vast areas of lately unpeopled territories.

Before the iron horse was guided from the Mississippi to the Pacific, emigrants to that distant coast were six months in crossing the Plains, exposed, for all that time, to great hardship and peril. Now the trip is made with ease and even comfort in as many days; and, besides this, those distant regions are settled and improved. And what is the result? In 1850 the total white population of Oregon Territory was 13,294; in 1880 in the same area it was 341,842—an increase of twenty-five hundred per cent. in thirty years.

This saving of time and labor is not only of great pecuniary value, it also benefits the average American in other directions.

We are a restless, adventurous, migratory, pushing people. We cannot brook delay. We are intense, active, nervous. We must push. We cannot stop. We would not, if we could. All this is adapted to our characteristics. One of the first Americans who rode at a rate of sixty miles an hour was asked how he liked it. "Well," said he, "at first it was a little scarish, and I felt queerly; but I soon got used to it, and I said I didn't care if they run the darned machine a hundred miles an hour."

Railroads counteract and destroy sectionalism and exclusiveness. They bring the people of different and distant regions together. They obliterate State lines. They mitigate party and sectional prejudices. They promote unity and homogeneity. Practically, there is no East nor West, nor South nor North, in countries intersected by railroads. If trunk lines linking North and South together had been as numerous and as much traveled thirty years ago as the great East and West trunk lines are now, the late Civil War would have been impossible. Gradually, peacefully, and from natural causes, slavery would have expired, and the late "unpleasantness" would never have occurred. A late thoughtful writer forcibly says:

Compared with the wealth of the country thirty years ago, railroads have created on this continent a new nation.

The railroads while penetrating every portion of the continent, at least wherever our people go, for the first time create the conditions of a firm and compact nationality.*

Besides rendering the people non-sectional and homogeneous, the railroads broaden, liberalize, and assimilate a people. When they were first projected, it was urged against them that their tendency would be agrarian; "that the rich and the poor, the educated and the ignorant, the polite and the vulgar would all herd together, in the new mode of travel." This, however, if true, would not be an objection, but an excellence. Class and compartment cars have never been popular in this country. [But "Pullman's" are.—Ed.] They are un-American. Indeed, in the earlier railroad period, the plan of classifying passengers and passenger cars was fairly tried and given up.

Assimilation and grading up result from this promiscuous mingling of all sorts of passengers together. Object lessons of

* Poore's Manual of Railroads.

political oneness and of social equality are thus, all the time, effectively taught. Thus the grading is constantly upward. Human life, in various ways, amounts to much more in modern times than it did in the earlier times. We live longer in the same number of years than our predecessors lived. We live faster. We see more in the same time. We do more than our fathers did, more than we ourselves could accomplish but for the railroads. Achievements in gaining wealth, position, power, honors, and in propagating truth and error, are much more marked, rapid, and extensive under the new conditions than they were under the old, and every form of material civilization is heightened.

Progress in the rapid transmission and interchange of ideas has been largely accelerated by the railroad system. This is true also of telegraphy and the use of the telephone, as well as of the rapid transit of goods and persons. And evidently we are as yet only at the beginning of our achievements in this direction—yet but in the early dawn of rapid travel and transportation.

The railroad has wrought great moral and social changes. How different now the travel and the sojourn of the itinerant minister from those of the former period. His journeyings to and from Conference and over his assigned district or circuit are now made by rail, instead of by horseback or buggy, as in the ante-railroad period.

The old-time hospitality for man and beast to the weary itinerant, the familiar, godly, pastoral intercourse, the family worship conducted by the minister, the words of personal admonition, cheer, or encouragement spoken by the honored guest to each member of the family, and especially to the children—all this is a thing of the past, a vanishing picture. The same is largely true too of social and hospitable intercourse generally.

The railroad system has developed very rapidly, and it has now reached gigantic proportions. The total railroad mileage of the world is about 286,023 miles; or equal to eleven and a half times the distance around the world. In the eastern hemisphere there are 132,934 miles, distributed as follows:

Europe	112,388 miles.	Australia.....	6,008 miles.
Asia.....	11,155 "	Africa.....	3,382 "

In the western hemisphere there are 153,089 miles, distributed as follows :

United States.....	121,592 miles.	South America.....	4,849 miles.
Canada	15,778 "	Central America.....	2,385 "
Mexico	7,533 "	West India.....	952 "

The aggregate cost of all these railroads has been estimated at about \$17,500,000,000. Allowing the cost per mile of building railroads to be about the same in all parts of the world, the average yearly sum expended in the construction of these roads for fifty years has been about \$171,600,000, not far from half a million dollars a day.

The railroads of the United States are distributed over the whole Republic, stretching alike over populous and non-populous States and Territories, bringing the newest, more remote, and less populous regions into close relations with the older and more populous sections.

The distribution by groups gives the following results :

New England group: Six States—area, 66,375 square miles; population, 4,009,529; railroad mileage, 6,323; one mile of railroad to every 634 inhabitants; one mile of railroad to every $6\frac{1}{10}$ square miles of area.

Middle group: Six States—New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia—area, 141,240 square miles; population, 12,186,986; railroad mileage, 17,582; one mile to every 801 inhabitants; one mile to each $8\frac{1}{10}$ square miles of territory :

Southern group: Ten States—Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky—area, 449,619 square miles; population, 12,348,858; railroad mileage, 17,582; one mile of railroad to every 654 inhabitants; one mile of railroad to each $20\frac{1}{10}$ square miles of area.

Western group: Thirteen States and two Territories—Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Dakota, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, Colorado, Wyoming—area, 1,249,836 square miles; population, 21,269,601; mileage, 70,345; one mile of railroad to every 302 inhabitants; one mile of railroad to each $17\frac{1}{10}$ square miles of territory.

Pacific group: Three States and six Territories—California, Oregon, Nevada, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Idaho, Washington, Montana—area, 1,003,810 square miles; population, 1,540,320; railroad mileage, 7,486; one mile of railroad to each $205\frac{1}{2}$ inhabitants; one mile of railroad to each 134 square miles.

A comparison of these groups is interesting and suggestive. In the New England group there are fewer miles of railroad than in any other group, while there is more railroad mileage to the square mile. Next to the New England group the Pacific group has the fewest miles of railroad, yet there is more railroad mileage to the population than in any other group. It is seen, here, that the mighty West, as usual, distances every other group in its number of States, in its population, and in its railroad mileage. The West is, and it is ever to be, the great body of this nation.

The capital invested in the railroads of the United States may be set down at \$7,495,471,311, made up as follows :

Amount of share capital issued by the several companies, \$3,708,060,583	
Funded debts of the several companies.....	3,455,040,383
Floating debts	332,370,345

This sum would equal \$136 to each man, woman, and child in the nation. Many of the investments in railroads are unproductive.

A few years ago there was, in public estimation, no more inviting field for railroad enterprises than Colorado. A vast system of railroads, covering the whole State, was constructed with great rapidity, involving a nominal expenditure of nearly \$100,000,000, almost the whole of which is unproductive.*

It is stated that—

Stocks and bonds to the amount of \$530,132,000 were listed at the New York Stock Exchange in 1883. The amount of stocks and bonds listed was equivalent to about \$80,000 per mile of new road built during the year. A considerable amount of the securities listed, however, was on account of old works.

In this immense increase of fictitious capital is to be found the cause of the general distrust which prevails, and the enormous decline in the price of railroad securities. From 1879 to 1883 a most singular delusion rested upon the public as to their value, and this delusion was taken advantage of on a large scale by able and unscrupulous adventurers. Whatever was manufactured and put afloat was seized with avidity by an eager and uninformed public. . . . The delusion culminated about the time of the opening of the Northern Pacific, in connection with which visionary schemes of immense magnitude had been put upon the market. Their worthlessness, and the rapid decline of their securities, exerted a powerful influence over the public mind, which continues unchecked to the time of this writing.

* Poore's Railroad Manual, 1884.

The distrust extends alike to good and bad, so that prices at the present time have as little reference to values as they had at the beginning of 1883. The distrust will continue until time shall show what securities are really well based.

The gross earnings of all the roads for their several fiscal years of 1883 were \$823,772,924, an increase from the previous year of \$53,563,025. Two eighths of these gross earnings were received from passengers, and upward of five eighths of them from freight. The net earnings of all the railroads in the United States in 1883 were \$333,911,884, an increase of \$21,461,082 from the previous year. The percentage of gross earnings to investment was 10.99 per cent.; percentage of net earnings was 4.49 per cent. upon nominal cost. The net earnings upon actual cost of the roads was about nine per cent.

During the years 1881-83 the annual increase of miles of railroad in the United States was 10,000 miles, costing about \$30,000 per mile, involving an outlay of \$300,000,000 a year, or \$1,000,000 for each working day in the year. In wealth alone, the railroads of the country have created a new nation, as they have also in other respects.

In 1883 the railroads transported 400,000,000 tons of freight, the value of which, at \$25 a ton, would equal \$10,000,000,000.

In freight traffic the States range as follows, namely: The State of Pennsylvania is first, with a tonnage moved of 105,507,916, or more than one quarter of the total of the United States, and a tonnage moved one mile of 7,859,109,440, or more than one sixth of the total. New York comes second, with 50,372,817 and 6,040,404,413, respectively; Ohio third, with 43,065,926 and 5,969,378,057; Illinois fourth, with 35,472,611 and 5,266,273,900; New Jersey fifth, with 19,270,393 and 1,140,070,889; and Indiana sixth, with 18,506,607 and 2,625,042,677.

The number of passengers transported in 1883 on the railroads of the New England group of States, having a population of 4,009,529, was 72,377,566, a number 18 times as great as its whole population. The number transported in Massachusetts was 53,080,887, a number greater than for any other State; Pennsylvania comes next, with 49,970,774; New York third, with 43,734,962; Illinois fourth, with 25,116,732; New Jersey fifth, with 24,416,770; and Ohio sixth, with 21,096,833. The number transported in the middle group of States, having a population of 12,374,510, was 126,735,899 (which is exclusive of those carried on New York city elevated roads), a number about ten times its population. The number transported in the Southern group was 14,087,866, a number 2,500,000 greater than the present population of this group. The number transported in the Western and South-western group, having a population of 20,045,070, was 87,614,699, a number 4.4 times as great as its population; the low average for this group arises from embracing in it the comparatively undeveloped North-western and South-western States. The number transported in the Pacific

group, having a population of 1,480,272, was 11,870,626, a number more than eight times its population.

The number of passengers moved one mile in the New England group was 1,187,719,657, at a charge of 2.15 cents per mile; in the Middle States' group, 2,489,766,204, at a charge of 2.17 cents per mile; in the Southern group, 613,891,085, at a charge of 2.85 cents per mile; in the Western group, 3,834,082,895, at a charge of 2.56 cents per mile; in the Pacific group, 415,849,833, at a charge of 2.84 cents per mile. The total movement in all the roads equaled 8,541,309,674 persons moved one mile, at a charge of 2.42 cents per passenger per mile.*

The comparative safety of railway travel is shown by the following statistics, taken from the tenth census: Out of 269,583,340 passengers carried in 1883, 143 were killed, 60 by causes beyond their control, and 82 through their own carelessness. This ratio is as one person killed to every 1,885,000 persons traveling on the rail; and one person injured to every half-million passengers. The casualties fatal and non-fatal to employees are in much higher proportion. Out of 419,000 employees 260 were killed, or as one in 1,600; and 3,617 were injured, or as a little less than one per cent.

It would seem from this showing that the immunity from fatal accident in riding on the railroad is very great. It would appear almost safer to travel than to stay at home. The danger ratio of employees is much higher.

In the remaining part of this paper we may very properly examine the question: whether danger is to be apprehended to the material and moral interests of the people, to our civilization, to the public morals, and to the future peace and safety of the nation from the massing and wielding of such immense capital in our railroads? Freely conceding the great material and commercial benefits accruing to the world by means of the railroad, is danger to be feared to the liberties and welfare of the people? Great railroad combinations are formed; enormous accumulations of capital are gathered into few hands, and vast irresponsible power is created, threatening the property and business of individuals and of the millions of citizens.

Consider a few patent facts: The politics and the legislation of the country, both as to Territories, States, and the United States, are notoriously manipulated by railroad magnates, in

* Poore's Manual of Railroads, 1884.

the interest of grasping, soulless railroad corporations. Money and influence are skillfully and unscrupulously used to secure desired legislation. There has probably not been a territorial Legislature held in twenty years where legislation has not been procured more favorable to the railroad corporation than to the people represented in those Legislatures. All railroads will combine in seeking general or special railroad legislation, while only the people of a limited area will unite in opposing oppressive railroad legislation in that area.

The same is, doubtless, true as to State Legislatures and the election of State senators and representatives; and is it not equally and eminently true of Congressional elections, both to the Senate and the House? The scandals of the *Credit Mobilier* will not soon be forgotten. They smirched honored names. The aid rendered by Congress in loans to the Pacific railroads has been requited by systematic and persistent endeavor on the part of those corporations to evade payment of interest on those loans. Laws have been passed and processes instituted to secure the payment of those loans, which, up to this time, have been too successfully eluded.

The large quantities of public lands granted to great railroad monopolies have still further tended to reduce the resources of the people and lavish them upon grasping, bloated corporations. The vast amount of patronage and control these railroads have, by their nearly half a million dependent employees, largely augments their power to corrupt elections and to bribe lawmakers. A hundred and twenty thousand offices are said to be at the disposal of the President of the United States, and this has been cited as imperiling the purity of elections. Yet the families of 419,000 railroad employees in the United States are dependent upon the nod and beck of railroad magnates.

These railroads have the power to oppress the producers of the country by demanding and receiving extortionate rates for transporting passengers and freight upon local routes, and upon routes where competition does not prevent such extortion, and for short distances. Repeated instances have been cited, where all the transported article could possibly bear has been charged for freights. The oppression of employees, by compelling overwork and by scanty wages, is a liability which will require vigilant attention.

A more serious question remains to be considered, namely, the flagrant Sabbath desecration practiced by all the railroads, and the injury this must cause to public morals and to civil order and safety. Before preparing this article inquiries were addressed to leading officials of all the principal railroad companies, as follows, namely: "1. What number of employees are there on your roads? 2. What proportion of your business is done on the Sabbath day? 3. What proportion of your employees work on the Sabbath day?" Of the Pennsylvania Central Railway Company, this additional question was asked, namely: "What damage and what loss of life resulted to your roads during your railway strike a few years ago?" This question has not been answered. The following answers have been received, namely:

From J. H. Rutter, Esq., President New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company:

We employ about 15,000 men. Probably not one half of our usual daily business is done on the Sabbath day. We run through passenger trains and through freight trains on Sunday; but not as many on Sundays as on week days. Your third question I cannot answer, except approximately. I should say not one half of the employees work on the Sabbath day—very likely, not one third.

From Charles Paine, Esq., General Superintendent of the New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, and of the New York, Lake Erie, and Western Railroad Company, this answer has been given:

I do not find any statistics which would enable me to answer the questions you propose, or I would take pleasure in giving you the desired information.

S. R. Callaway, Esq., General Manager of the Union Pacific Railway, responds:

Upon the Union Pacific Railway and its controlled lines, about 20,000 men are employed. I cannot tell you what proportion work on the Sabbath day. But we endeavor to limit Sunday work as much as possible upon a line of its length.

These are substantially all the answers received from a dozen or fifteen letters. The officials were obviously disinclined, if they were able, to give the information sought. This is probably all the light obtainable from these sources. But it is not

rious that much passenger and freight work is done on the Sabbath day by all the railroads.

The effect is injurious in several ways. 1. To all the people living upon or near railroads, where the steam whistle and the rushing train flagrantly defy the Sabbath law, and accustom aged and young alike to become familiar with open defiance of divine and human law, general laxity of morals must ensue. 2. The injury to railroad employees is more direct and deadly. Thousands of railroad employees know no Sabbath from one year's end to another. On all the railroads in North America there are 600,000 employees. If we take President Rutter's average—one third—we have 200,000 men who are required to violate God's law and the civil law as well, and to live without the Sabbath. Can words measure the inevitable demoralization which must ensue? Most properly and commendably the railroad employees are required to be sober men. Should they not also be prevented from becoming morally irresponsible? Is it surprising that men compelled habitually to be immoral should become communists and nihilists, and on occasion should raise the red flag, and should waste and destroy? If railroad corporations thus sow to the wind, the whirlwind of disaster will not be far behind. Can corporations more than individuals violate moral law with impunity?

It may be said that to stop railroad travel on Sunday would work a hardship to travelers. To forbid secular business and work on the Sabbath, as the civil law does, to the non-traveling public, may be inconvenient to all those who do not care for the Sabbath, but should Sabbath laws be therefore abrogated and the civil Sabbath be abolished?

It is urged that it is wasteful of perishable freights to delay them by stopping Sunday trains. Then, let them be started on Monday rather than on Saturday or Sunday. It is also urged that live freight should be hurried through in kindness to the animals transported, and that to delay cattle trains, by non-Sunday travel, would be cruelty to animals. In some of the States the law requires railroads not to keep the cattle in cars beyond thirty-six hours. It would be humane to require all cattle trains to lie over for feeding and rest on the Sabbath. That to enforce non-Sunday travel and freighting on railroads would cost something, is admitted; but the present moral gain

and, in the long run, the future material gain would far out-measure the loss.

The interest of the railroads imperatively demands the suspension of this Sunday violation. Public morals, public safety and order demand that this flagrant Sabbath desecration should cease. It should be done, peacefully and without compulsion, as a measure of supreme importance to the railroad corporations and to the public welfare. If it be not done voluntarily, and by the voice of a healthy public sentiment, it will come after loss and riot and waste of life and great public disaster; but it were far better to have it come by peaceful and moral means than by reaction after wide-spread ruin.

If slavery had been peacefully abolished, even though it had cost many thousand millions to pay for the slaves; the far greater loss of life and property wasted by war would have been avoided. Railroads, publicists, legislators, and voters will do well to heed the teachings of history, which enforce religious morality as the foundation of civil order and civil liberty.

ART. V.—RECENT CHECKS TO MODERN UNBELIEF.*

PART II.—CRITICAL.

It is generally and confidently acknowledged by the highest authorities of the school of modern critical unbelief that there are certain books in the New Testament which are unquestionably genuine. Such men as Baur and Strauss, Renan and the author of "Supernatural Religion," for example, agree in accepting Romans, First and Second Corinthians, Galatians, and the Apocalypse as books incontestably genuine and authentic. That is, these representative leaders of modern learned unbelief agree with catholic Christians in holding fast by the unquestionable genuineness of about one fourth of the New Testament, and that, a fourth containing over and over again all the essential facts and doctrines of the Gospel. In regard to the remaining books of the New Testament, the position originally taken up by Baur and his more immediate followers was, that

* "Some Recent Checks and Reverses Sustained by Modern Unbelief." By Rev. Alexander Mair, D.D. "The Monthly Interpreter" (Edinburgh), Feb., 1885.

they were composed far on in the second century, and mainly between A. D. 130 and 170.

It is a well-known fact that of late years many previously unknown manuscripts of valuable ancient books have been discovered throughout the libraries and convents of the south and east. It is most important and strengthening to our faith to know that these discoveries tend decidedly to confirm the catholic view in regard to the date of the New Testament books, namely, that they were all written within the apostolic age. We will now adduce a few illustrations of this statement.

We begin with the so-called "Epistle of Barnabas," which was written about A. D. 120. Until 1859 it was known only in an imperfect form, the first four and a half chapters being extant in Latin but not in the original Greek. At the close of the fourth chapter it contains these words, "as it is written, Many are called, few chosen." The expression here quoted is found nowhere in ancient sacred literature except Matt. xxii, 14.* Hence the conclusion was naturally drawn that this was a quotation from Matthew, and that the quotation was made as if it was acknowledged Scripture. But the unbelieving school, in effect, replied, "No. This is only the Latin translation. The quotation was very likely inserted by the translator, who was some biased Christian. If we only had the original Greek, we should find that it is not there." Well, two original Greek copies have now been discovered, one by Tischendorf at Mount Sinai in 1859, and another more lately at Constantinople by Bryennios, now Metropolitan of Nicomedia. And what is the result? The old Latin version is absolutely correct; for the quotation is found in the original Greek almost exactly as in Matthew. The conclusion from this is obvious; the Gospel of Matthew was already written and apparently acknowledged as Scripture. It is noteworthy that the author of "Supernatural Religion" still endeavors to wriggle out of the iron grasp of the necessary inference. In a way which must fill many readers with amazement, if not with something worse, he still struggles to show that it is not a quotation from Matthew at all, but from 2 (4) Esdras viii, 3: "There be many created, but few shall be saved." Surely comment is unneces-

* It is also found, of course, in the *Textus Receptus* in Matt. xx, 16; but there it is probably not genuine. [Westcott and Hert insert it in the margin.]

sary. The discovery of the Greek copies of Barnabas settles the question on the side of the catholic view, as even Hilgenfeld, the present head of Baur's school, most cordially admits.*

In the year 1842 there was discovered at Mount Athos a copy of the long-lost work of Hippolytus, "The Refutation of all Heresies." The author lived at the close of the second century and the beginning of the third. This discovery has proved one of the first importance for various reasons, and very especially for the references or quotations therein given from the works or teaching of the ancient heretics. Now it is well known that Baur regarded the Gospel of John as written about A. D. 160-170. But what do we learn from Hippolytus? He deals at length with the heresy of Basilides, who flourished about A. D. 125, and he tells us that this heresiarch fell back on the gospels, specially including John, for support to his views. He writes: "And this, he [Basilides] says, is that which has been stated in the gospels; He 'was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.'"† This quotation is unquestionably from John i, 9, and it is scarcely less questionable that according to the laws of Greek grammar Hippolytus puts the quotation into the mouth of Basilides, and even seems to quote from a book of his which he has in his eye. In other words, John was not written after A. D. 160, as Baur holds, but before the time of Basilides; that is, before A. D. 125. It may be noticed, also, that Basilides refers in the above quotation to "the gospels," and uses them as being of acknowledged authority.

The so-called "Clementine Homilies" played a most important part in the hands of Baur and his immediate followers, in the contest as to the dates of the New Testament books. Down to 1853, it will be remembered, these Homilies existed only in an imperfect copy which stopped short in the middle of Homily xix, chap. 14; eleven chapters and a half of Homily xix, and the whole of Homily xx being lost. The date of their

* Hilgenfeld holds that Barnabas was written in A. D. 97, and that the reference proves, "das ein Evangelium, sei es nun das des Matthäus selbst oder ein demselben verwandtes, schon gottesdienstlich gebraucht, als heilige Schrift angesehen ward."—*Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, p. 38.

† "Refutation of all Heresies," book vii, 22. For English, see Clark's Translation, vol. i, p. 276; and for Greek, Charteris, "Canonicity," p. 173.

composition is assigned to the middle of the second century, or a little later, say about A. D. 160.

We restrict our attention at present solely to the bearing of the Homilies on the Gospel of John. Baur contended that they contained no proof of the existence of the fourth gospel at the date of their composition. It is true that even in the imperfect edition we have quotations or reminiscences from John, which seem unmistakable to the ordinary reader, and which, if they occurred in any modern author, would be unhesitatingly referred to the fourth gospel. We read in Homily iii, chap. 52, these words: "Wherefore he [Christ], being the true prophet, said, I am the gate of life; he who entereth through me entereth into life," a passage which can scarcely fail to recall John x, 9, "I am the door: by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved." In the same chapter of Homily iii we further read: "Wherefore also he cried and said, . . . My sheep hear my voice," an expression which seems obviously quoted from John x, 27, "My sheep hear my voice." What makes it still more likely that these quotations are taken from John is the fact that they are both found in the same chapter of the Homilies, and correspond to passages in the same chapter of the fourth gospel, a circumstance most naturally accounted for by the theory of actual quotation. Once more, the old and imperfect edition of the Homilies contains, in Homily xi, chap. 26, the statement, "For thus the Prophet has sworn to us, saying, Verily I say to you, unless ye be regenerated by living water into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, you shall not enter the kingdom of heaven," a passage which naturally appears to contain a free but undoubted reference to John iii, 5, "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." Such were the references to John in the older edition of the Homilies, and yet Baur and his followers, like the author of "Supernatural Religion," could hold that they contained no proof of the existence of that gospel, and therefore it did not exist, or just came into existence, at the time when the Homilies were written. Consequently John could not have been written before A. D. 160, the approximate date of the Homilies.

But we now have the "Clementine Homilies" entire in Greek. In the year 1853 Dressel published a complete edition

from a manuscript which he had found in the Ottobonian Library in the Vatican. Now it so happens that the new and concluding fragment contains testimony of the utmost importance. For one thing, it settles that the author of the Homilies knew and used Mark, which had been doubtful up to that date. But it also settles to all reasonable minds the fact of the previous existence and the use of John. In the portion discovered by Dressel we have the following passage in Homily xix, chap. 22, "Whence our Teacher, when we inquired of him in regard to the man who was blind from his birth, and recovered his sight, if this man sinned, or his parents, that he should be born blind, answered, Neither did he sin at all, nor his parents, but that the power of God might be made manifest through him in healing sins of ignorance."* This passage is obviously a free but real quotation from John ix, 1-3: "And as Jesus passed by, he saw a man which was blind from his birth. And his disciples asked him, saying, Master, who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind? Jesus answered, Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents; but that the works of God should be made manifest in him." So obvious is the quotation that the controversy may now be regarded as settled in the estimation of reasonable men. Hilgenfeld, the present head of the dying Tübingen school, at once acknowledged the question as finally closed.† "Volkmar admitted and admits that the fact of the use of the gospel must be considered as proved. The author of "Supernatural Religion" stands alone in still resisting this conviction, but the result, I suspect, will be only to show in stronger relief the one-sidedness of his critical method."‡

We now come to another interesting and most important point. It is well known that Tatian, the Assyrian, who flourished about A. D. 150-170, and of whom we possess one work, his Address to the Greeks, was the author of another work called the "Diatessaron." The testimony of antiquity is so uniform and distinct that thus far there never could be any

* For the Greek of the quotations from the Homilies, see Charteris, "Canonicity," pp. 184, f.; or Sanday, "The Gospels in the Second Century," pp. 287, ff. The English given above is from Clark's Translation.

† "Einleitung," p. 43, f., note.

‡ Sanday, "The Gospels in the Second Century," p. 288.

reasonable doubt. This "Diatessaron," as the name naturally implies, is declared by ancient writers to have been a Harmony of the four gospels. The importance attached to this fact by catholic scholars and critics on the one hand, and by Baur and his school on the other, was naturally very great. If, as catholic critics generally held, it was a veritable Harmony, it was a clear proof that at the time when it was constructed, and of course long previously, four gospels were regarded as occupying a position quite distinct, approaching to what we call canonical. Further, critics of this class naturally considered that these gospels must have been the present four. But if so, then John must have been received in the time of Tatian as genuine, so that it could not possibly have seen the light only so late as A.D. 160, or even later, as Baur's school maintained. It was therefore of the utmost importance for this school to undermine the argument of the catholic critics by showing that the "Diatessaron" was no Harmony whatever of the four canonical gospels. The English reader may see how this is attempted by the author of "Supernatural Religion" in his second volume (pp. 152, ff.). He makes statements like the following: "There is no authority for saying that Tatian's gospel was a Harmony of four gospels at all." "No one seems to have seen Tatian's Harmony, for the very good reason that there was no such work." And again: "It is obvious that there is no evidence whatever connecting Tatian's gospel with those in our canon." *

The question, however, seems of late to have been finally settled to the utter discomfiture of the school of Baur, and the complete demonstration of the perfect correctness of the traditional view. According to the testimony of antiquity, Ephraem the Syrian wrote a commentary on Tatian's Diatessaron. The commentary was regarded as hopelessly lost until lately, when an Armenian translation of it was found in the library of the Mechitarist monks, in the island of S. Lazzaro at Venice. This translation was published in Latin in 1876 by Professor Mösinger of Salzburg.† Now, Professor Zahn of

* "Supernatural Religion," vol. ii, pp. 158, 160, 161.

† The title is: "Evangelii concordantis expositio facta a S. Ephraemo, in Latium translata a J. B. Aucher, Mechitarista, cujus versionem emendavit, annotationibus illustravit et edidit G. Moesinger, Venetiis," etc., 1876.

Erlangen has lately subjected this ancient commentary to a most thorough-going criticism and treatment, and that with the most interesting and astonishing results. It turns out actually to be Ephraem's Commentary on Tatian's Diatessaron. We therefore now know exactly what was the nature of Tatian's famous work. And what is the result? It is found to be a consecutive gospel narrative constructed out of a blending of our four canonical gospels on a somewhat free principle. And Tatian uses John the most extensively of all the gospels, and adopts the chronology of that gospel as the frame-work of his Harmony. "It may be observed that a difference is so far made between the evangelists that the text of St. John is almost completely adopted, perhaps with the sole exception of chapter iv, 46-54; next in completeness comes that of St. Matthew, while St. Luke and St. Mark are much more incompletely represented."* The meaning of all this is obvious. The Tübingen school, in their blind and desperate attempt to maintain the late origin of all the gospels, and especially of John, have suffered themselves again to be misled. In the words of Professor Wace: "There is no longer any doubt that all four gospels existed in full, and substantially as we now have them, in the time of Tatian, and therefore of Justin Martyr;" for, as the author of "Supernatural Religion" expressly acknowledges, "Tatian simply made use of the same gospel as his master, Justin Martyr,"† who died probably in A. D. 148.

One other point remains on which we wish to say a few words. It is the issue of the controversy in regard to "Marcion's gospel." This heretic was a native of Pontus, but lived and flourished at Rome in the time of Justin Martyr, that is, about A. D. 140. He used a gospel which, according to the consent of antiquity, and especially of Irenæus, Tertullian, and Epiphanius, was a mutilated Luke. There was no substantial reason for doubting this statement. But if it was true, then it was plain that Luke must have been written a considerable time before A. D. 140. This could not be admitted by Baur and his immediate followers, whose hypothesis required them to hold the late origin of that gospel. What was then to be

* Article by Professor Wace, "Expositor," Oct., 1882, p. 301. Comp. Charteris, "Croall Lectures for 1882," pp. 177, ff.

† Vol. ii, p. 159.

done? Of course, Marcion's gospel must be held and proved to be the earlier and the original gospel, of which that of Luke was only a later enlargement.*

In Germany, the rectification of this grievous error came in its final stage, to its honor be it said, from within Baur's own school. Volkmar and Hilgenfeld, two distinguished members of the school, were not only led by their own study to renounce the view of Baur and return to the traditional view, but by their thorough investigation as nearly proved as such a thing could be proved that the ancient view was right, and that Luke was the original from which Marcion had derived his gospel by mutilation. So effectual was the demonstration, that Ritschl was convinced, and even Baur withdrew from his original position. The question may now be regarded as finally settled in Germany in favor of the priority and originality of the Gospel of Luke.† The statement of the fathers is proved to be substantially correct, and Marcion's gospel turns out to be a mutilation of Luke.

But the matter was not so speedily brought to a conclusion in England. The author of "Supernatural Religion," as might have been anticipated, still held out. He could even write: "The statement of the fathers, that Marcion's gospel was no original work, but a mutilated version of Luke, is unsupported by a single historical or critical argument;" and again, "If we except the gospel according to the Hebrews, Marcion's gospel is the oldest evangelical work of which we hear any thing, and it *ranks far above the third Synoptic in that respect.*"‡ But Dr. Sanday in his well-known volume, "The Gospels in the Second Century," entered once more into an elaborate investigation of the question, and succeeded in practically demonstrating the priority and originality of Luke. So convincing is his argument that he has had the unlooked-for satisfaction of seeing even the author of "Supernatural Religion," after the example of abler and wiser men, withdrawing from his wild position, and finally admitting that Luke, and not Marcion's

* See Baur, "Kritische Untersuchungen," pp. 397-427.

† "Es genügt zu bemerken, dass das Vorhandensein des Lucas vor Marcion von Volkmar, Köstlin, Hilgenfeld, Ritschl, und Zeller, nachgewiesen wurde."—Holtzmann, "Die syn. Evangelien," p. 403.

‡ "Supernatural Religion," vol. ii, pp. 138, *f.*, 4th edition. The Italics are ours.

mutilation, is the true original. He now acknowledges that Dr. Sanday's "able examination of Marcion's gospel has convinced us that our earlier hypothesis is untenable, . . . and, consequently, that our third Synoptic existed in his time, and was substantially in the hands of Marcion." He says that Dr. Sanday's argument must "prove irresistible to all" critics, and that "it is not possible reasonably to maintain" his previous view.* After such an admission coming from such a quarter, we may safely say with Professor Salmon of Dublin, "The theory that Marcion's form [of the gospel] is the original, may be said to be now completely exploded."

In the preceding pages we have dwelt on individual points by way of illustration; it now remains for us to give an indication of the general current of the tide of opinion in the critical world. Even in the negative critical world, in the very school of Baur himself, the current of opinion in regard to the dates of the leading books of the New Testament has begun distinctly to flow back. A brief general statement will be sufficient to make this luminous. Baur regarded Matthew as written after A. D. 130; Hilgenfeld, the present head of Baur's school, holds it to have been written immediately (*εὐθὺς*) after the destruction of Jerusalem, say about A. D. 70; while Renan regards it as written about A. D. 84. Baur originally regarded Luke and Mark as written about A. D. 150 or later; but both Hilgenfeld and Renan agree in placing their date more or less decidedly within the first century, and therefore within the apostolic age. The case with John is very instructive. Baur regarded it as written about A. D. 160, or even 170; Hilgenfeld assigns it to A. D. 130-140; while Renan, after a good deal of vacillation, holds at present to about A. D. 125. Baur held Acts to be written about the middle of the second century; Hilgenfeld regards it as written after the close of the first century, but maintains that the portions narrated in the first person were the genuine work of Luke; while Renan assigns it to the first century. Baur regarded Romans, First and Second Corinthians, and Galatians as the only genuine Pauline epistles; but in addition to these, Hilgenfeld accepts also First Thessalonians, Philippians, and Philemon; while Renan, also in addition, accepts First and

* "Supernatural Religion," complete edition (1879), vol. ii, pp. 138, f.

Second Thessalonians, Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon, and although he regards Ephesians as doubtful, yet he says that "in any case it belongs to the apostolic age." Baur relegated all, or almost all, the remaining books of the New Testament, except the Revelation of John, to the second century. Besides those specified above, Hilgenfeld assigns to the first century Hebrews (c. A. D. 66) and James (A. D. 81-96); while Renan assigns to the same century Ephesians, Hebrews, James, and 1 Peter. To sum up in a general way, we have this approximate result. According to Baur, we have only about one fourth of the New Testament belonging to the first century; according to Hilgenfeld, we have nearly three fourths, and according to Renan, decidedly more than three fourths, falling within the first century, and therefore within the limits of the apostolic age. This surely indicates a very decided and significant retreat.*

Such are a few of the checks or even reverses sustained of late years by the critics of the extreme negative school, and such is their substantial retreat. The general result of the whole is most significant and confirmatory of the catholic belief in regard to the age of the leading books of the New Testament. And let it be noted that the strength of the argument is to be seen not so much in the points separately

* It may be interesting and helpful to clearness to fix our attention more particularly on the four gospels. The following table gives the approximate dates according to different critics, and speaks for itself:

	Baur.	Volkmar.	Hilgenfeld.	Keim.	Renan.	Schenkel.	Holtzmann.	Weiss.	Meyer.
Matt.,	130 +	105 +	70 +	66	84	70	c. 67	70 +	60-70
Mark,	150 +	73	81 +	100	76	58	c. 68	69	60-70
Luke,	c. 150	100	c. 100	90	94	80	70 +	80	70-80
John,	160 +	155	130 +	130	125	120	100-133	c. 95	80
	600	433	396	386	379	328	327	314	255

The above table may be accepted as approximately correct. We have added up the different columns (making allowances), in order that the eye may see the general results more distinctly. They are very significant. The sum under Baur is 600, and by comparing with this the sum under the other authors respectively, we see the aggregate retreat in regard to time in each case. We append Meyer as a specimen of the liberal but positive critic, only for comparison. We close the note with the words of Holtzmann himself: "Wir finden in der Tübinger Schule eine allgemeine Rückbewegung, bis zuletzt Hilgenfeld die evangelische Literatur in einer Zeit zum Abschluss bringt, wo sie nach Baur erst angefangen hätte."—HOLTZMANN, "Die synoptischen Evangelien," p. 403.

as in the general drift of the whole. Every new discovery has not only fallen in harmoniously with the view commonly held in the Church, but has distinctly tended to confirm it, while in some cases it has been dead against the extreme school of unbelief. Moreover, the distinct and general tendency of the leading authorities on the side of negative criticism has been to move the date of the chief New Testament books back nearer and nearer to the apostolic age, until at last, instead of only one fourth, they agree that about three fourths of the New Testament were actually written before the death of the apostle John.

When the age of historical criticism came, it was impossible that the books of the New Testament could escape the fire. They had of necessity to pass through the ordeal just like other ancient books, and it will be found in the long run that it was well for the Church that it was so. We have reason to believe that the battle of the dates is drawing near its close, with the victory obviously inclining to the side of the catholic view, namely, that the Christian Scriptures belong to the apostolic age. When the battle has once been fought out, and our sacred books have been proved and acknowledged even by negative critics themselves to fall within the first century, we may reasonably hope that a day will dawn of firmer faith than ever in these books. After they have stood the fire of such criticism as no ancient books have ever undergone, and the unwilling testimony of enemies is found substantially to coincide with that of friends, surely all future ages may regard them as practically unassailable. The battle had to be fought out; but the end is now in view, and fought out once, it is fought out forever.

One of the most brilliant of our scientific writers draws a vivid picture of the "fear and powerless anger" with which he supposes some Christians contemplate the advance of the "realm of matter and of law," that is, of physical science. As drawn by him, the picture is a sad one. But one sadder still sometimes presents itself on the side of unbelief. Here is a man who was cradled in the Christian faith, and brought up in a reverent belief in the New Testament. But when he grew up to manhood, he came into contact with the advanced criticism, let us say, of Baur and his school. It was to him

something quite new and startling. He was completely carried away by the originality of the principle which underlies the criticism; by the power, learning, and ingenuity with which the great master of the school supported it; and he ended in cordially accepting the position of extreme negation. In his own eyes he now became a free man, standing on the lofty rock of unassailable criticism, in the high, clear air far above the ignorant and superstitious multitude who grope in the twilight of the valley below. He has continued on in this course for years; he has, perhaps, proclaimed his views from the platform and the press; he has committed himself hand and foot to his position, and has become hardened in it. He is now, by "habit and repute," a member of the most enlightened school of infallible criticism; a well-known antagonist of superstitious supernaturalism, and, it may be, a prophet of the speedy downfall of Christianity. But as his generation glides away, a younger race of critics arise. They grow up accustomed to the negative criticism, and are not so easily bewildered and misled by the glamour of its novelty and ingenuity. They examine things more calmly, and in a healthier spirit; they almost unanimously give up the extreme negative position as utterly untenable, and retreat toward the catholic position. But what of our older friend? He has renounced his original faith, he has committed himself to his unbelief, and now it appears that he has been all wrong from the first! He has declared himself too publicly and too dogmatically, and it is too late for him to change. He is left high and dry by the receding tide, to maunder over his old arguments and objections, while the generation around looks on with pity or a smile. Doomed to see the conclusions of his infallible criticism rejected even by its friends—condemned to live to see the sacrifice of his faith in the New Testament proved to be a huge blunder and mistake—too proud, too crystallized, and too old to change—surely such a man presents to us one of the very saddest of spectacles; and, unhappily, it is one which is not altogether a mere picture of the imagination.

ART. VI.—THE CONGO.

THE legend that tells how Alexander of Macedon wept because his career of conquest was cut short for want of a field for its further extension, not only shows him to have been weakly sentimental, but also very inadequately informed in respect to the extent of the world. Other conquerors may have had like thoughts, though not so much since it was written, "Columbus has given a new world to the kingdom of Castile and Leon." From that time the "star of empire" set out anew on its westward course, and it has gone onward till there is no longer an unoccupied West to invite its farther progress. But as that progress followed pretty closely the lines of latitude, it left on either side, and especially within the opposite hemisphere, vast unexplored regions for future occupation. It has thus happened that the earth's great garden, a continent itself, that lies among the seas southward from Europe, has engaged a comparatively small share of the world's interest for three centuries. But the day has at length dawned upon "the Dark Continent," and for the adventurous spirits of the immediate future, traders, naturalists, or missionaries, Africa is becoming "the land of promise."

But, in waking up to the fact that there is an Africa, they who now begin to think and speak of it as an inviting field for study or enterprise must not forget that that fair land has been the arena upon which some of the greatest exploits of history, and also of prehistoric times, have been enacted. Within its area the Pharaohs built the pyramids, and shaped those massive monoliths, the obelisks and sphinxes at which our self-complacent age gazes with the vacant wonder of children. At the dawn of history Egypt, the seat of an advanced civilization, was already passing to its decadence. Rome, in her campaign of a thousand years for the conquest and plunder of the nations, encountered her most formidable antagonists in Africa, whose warriors carried victory to the very gates of the City of the Seven Hills. In mediæval times the Italian republics found their mercantile supremacy challenged by the apparently insignificant States of Barbary, and even when the achievements of the Spanish navigator were sending Spain's hidalgos across

the western ocean, intent on spoliation and the spread of the Catholic faith, Portugal was quietly feeling her way down the African coast, till, passing its southern extremity, her adventurous mariners turned again northward, planting their colonies from Mozambique to the Red Sea.

The Africa of which we now purpose to write is, however, quite another than the fringe of small states that lie between the Midland Sea and the wastes of the Sahara and the littorals of the two oceans. We are to consider the vast region hitherto almost entirely unknown, but toward which the eyes of the world are turning—the habitat of that most distinctive of the races of men, the Negro. Even he has been recognized from the earliest times as a social factor, but all along only as a slave. In that relation Egypt has given him a place on her stony monuments; and from that unknown date in the forgotten past till yesterday, the vast unknown regions of Africa were the harvest-field for the supply of the world's slave-markets. And now at length the descendants of the slaves stolen from Africa to serve the Anglo-Saxon freemen of America, insular and continental, have strangely become loyal and emancipated subjects of the British sovereign, or else enfranchised freemen of our great Republic. Evidently a beneficent Providence, which contemplated the end from the beginning, was present to overrule the white man's iniquitous lust for gain as manifested in the enslavement of the Negro race; and the denouement of that long-continued tragedy in human history is at length beginning to appear.

The coasts of intertropical Africa have for three hundred years been possessed and partially occupied by some of the principal nations of Europe; but all the vast interior, beyond a narrow fringe washed by the sea, has remained a *terra incognita*. The school geographies and atlases used by the older half of those now living displayed the whole interior of Africa as an unknown waste, varied only by the mythical "Mountains of the Moon." But with the advent of the current century the deep silence began to be interrupted. Mungo Park pushed his way by Timbuctoo down the Niger, and paid the forfeit of his life for his temerity; and after him the Landers brothers, pursuing the same course, debouched into the ocean, thus solving one of the geographical enigmas of the age. Afterward came Barth,

and Baker, and Burton, and Speke and Grant, and Cameron, and Schweinfurth, and a multitude more, all of whom made tentative efforts toward solving the mysteries of the wonderful unknown land of the black man. A Gallico-American, Du Chaillu, made excursions inward beyond the settlements along the western coast, and rediscovered the gorilla, the cannibals, and the dwarfs. But greater than all these, during the same years the missionary explorer, Livingstone, pierced the continent through and through, and forever broke the spell that had so long made Central Africa an insoluble mystery. After him, inspired by his example, and intent on finding him in his hiding-place, came Stanley, the last, and, measured by results, the greatest, of African explorers. And now the great world has fairly waked up to the fact that there is an African continent, itself a large portion of the solid land of the world, and that it possesses great possibilities in respect to human wants.

It is well, perhaps, that this wonderful land has remained so little known, and therefore unappropriated by any nation, until now, when, under the influence of a better and more Christian civilization than has hitherto existed, this newly discovered and still unexplored region of such magnificent proportions may be saved from spoliation, and instead become an arena for the largest development of the industrial, the philanthropic, and the Christian enterprises of the age. And now we see the unprecedented spectacle of a newly discovered country of untold resources preserved and consecrated by the great Christian powers to peace and civilization; and of these things, their processes and the consummation of the scheme for their accomplishment, the two noble volumes now lying before us are the record and the assured prophecy.

During the years 1874-77 Mr. Stanley, under the auspices of the proprietor of the "New York Herald" and of the "London Daily Telegraph," made his famous journey across the "Dark Continent," from Zanzibar to the mouth of the Congo, and reached Europe early in the next year. This man seems to have been himself a scarcely less remarkable discovery than the strange land of which he comes to tell us; but despite his unpromising earlier career, the most cautious and skeptical have been compelled to recognize his personal greatness; and now one of the crowned heads of Europe—Leopold II. of

Belgium—becomes the patron of the enterprise of which these books relate the beginnings.

It is not our purpose to retell his story. "Is it not written in the book?" and is not the very air full of it? It is ours simply, in the proper and least pretentious sense, to review his work, to see and report what has been done, and as we may be able, to set in a clear light some of the salient points of the story, to group together and take account of the more important facts that have been determined, and to make a hasty and necessarily incomplete estimate of the demonstrated possibilities of the things certainly ascertained.

The accomplished results, of which these volumes are the record, make an addition of a new and very important chapter to the world's geographical knowledge. A vast region of inter-tropical Africa, of which heretofore very little was known, and of which only comparatively small parts have been claimed by any foreign power, is now revealed. The remarkable fact is demonstrated that one of the well-known rivers of Western Africa discharges into the Atlantic the drainage of a region equal in area to that of the entire United States east of the Mississippi; that the basin of the Congo extends from the Atlantic Ocean, at about the twelfth degree of east longitude, eastward to the thirtieth degree, three quarters of the distance across the continent, to the watershed that separates the streams that fall severally into the two oceans. This vast basin lies on both sides of the equator, extending southward more than twelve degrees, over seven hundred geographical miles, and northward through eight degrees, or nearly five hundred geographical miles. The area of this vast basin is thus seen to very considerably exceed a million of square miles, or more than twenty times that of New York or Pennsylvania.

The physical characteristics of this vast area are as remarkable as its extent. From west to east, and equally on both sides of the equator, it appears an unbroken stretch of varied but never mountainous surface, well watered and drained by unfailing rivers, all falling into the Congo, a region of marvelous fertility, producing all the forms of tropical vegetation, and being, of course, the range and haunts of wild animals. There are elephants and buffaloes, lions and tigers, hippopotamuses and crocodiles, giraffes and zebras; while to the hand of

industry the earth readily yields the most abundant supplies of whatever is needed for human subsistence.

The vastness of the African continent renders any definite conception of its details exceedingly difficult. The Africa of antiquity and of the Middle Ages was the region now known as North Africa, extending from the Red Sea to the Atlantic Ocean, including the Canary Islands, and from the Mediterranean southward to a little beyond the twentieth degree of north latitude. Of this vast area, the desert of Sahara is the great feature, having Egypt and Nubia and Abyssinia to the eastward, and along the northern littoral, the Barbary States of the recent past and the Africa of Roman history. Beyond the Great Desert is the land of the Berbers and other strange peoples, of whom some account was given in a late number of this Review. South of the western part of this region is a fairly well defined section, extending from Timbuctoo to the Gulf of Guinea, coming down nearly to the Equator, divided by the Kong Mountains, with the Valley of the Niger on the east, and on the north-west and west the Senegambia country drained by the Senegal, with the Cape Verde Islands off the western coast, and farther southward the British colony of Sierra Leone, the republic of Liberia, and the kingdoms of Ashantee and Dahomey, and the coast towns of the Bight of Benin. This coast is the part of Africa best known in European commercial circles. Eastward from the valley of the Niger, and south of the Desert, is the great central basin, whose water-courses drain an extensive area, and converge in the vast estuary called Lake Tchad. Along the eastern coast from Cape Guardafui to Mozambique is the comparatively narrow belt, two or three hundred miles wide, whose waters flow through inconsiderable streams into the Indian Ocean. Still farther southward (latitude 10 to 20 deg. S.), and extending from the ocean westward, very far toward the Atlantic coast, is the basin of the Zambezi, second in extent only to that of the Congo, having on its south side the well-known states and outlying regions of South Africa, and on the west the Portuguese kingdom of Benguela, whose waters in small rivers fall into the Atlantic. These great natural divisions constitute the entire area of the African continent, except the interior basin, drained by the Congo and its affluents, lying south of the Lake Tchad region

and north of the basin of the Zambezi, and extending from the Gulf of Guinea on the west to the "divide" of the water-courses, not far from the Indian Ocean and the head-waters of the Nile.

The Congo River debouches into the Atlantic near the southern extremity of the Gulf of Guinea, about the sixth degree of south latitude, where it was formerly known as the *Zaire*, and recently as the "Livingstone" river, having the state of Loango on the right, and that of Congo on the left, of the river banks. The volume of water that is discharged into the ocean has long been known to be very great, since its current is felt and the discoloration of the water may be seen many leagues from the coast, and the depth of the channel as it enters the sea is a hundred fathoms. Estimates of the volume of water regularly discharged, made from approximate calculations from the size and velocity of the current, show results agreeing with the requirements of the area drained. The first section of the river—to Boma, seventy miles—is an arm of the sea; and thence upward to Vivi there is a broad, deep, and free channel with a moderate and steady current. Vivi is at the head of the lower river navigation, being at the bottom of the long series of rapids now called the Livingstone Falls, which continue upward nearly two hundred miles through a semi-mountainous region, with more than fifty cataracts of various heights, with long intervening stretches of navigable water to the broad expanse called Stanley Pool. The distance from Banana Point (the port of entry for sea-going vessels) to Boma is about seventy miles; and from Boma to Vivi, at the foot of the rapids, is forty miles more. From Vivi to Leopoldville, the station erected just above the beginning of the cataracts, is about two hundred miles. The vertical descent of the water between Stanley Pool and the river level at Vivi is not far from one thousand feet, and thence to the sea the fall is from two hundred to three hundred feet more.

Stanley Pool is a vast inland basin of quiet water, twenty miles in extent from the upper entrance of the great river to its contraction preparatory to its long succession of leaps and tumbles downward to the Lower Congo. Its breadth is about ten miles; and the whole area is divided into unequal parts by a low wooded island—Buma. From Leopoldville, at

the lowest part of Stanley Pool, to the foot of the Stanley Falls, following the river, which is not very crooked, the distance is a thousand and sixty-eight English miles, all without any interruption to navigation, and making a vertical descent of only four inches per mile. Accurate measurements show the elevation of the river at the foot of Stanley Falls to be 1,511 feet above sea level. The navigable extent of the many affluents, from both sides below Stanley Falls, carry the whole mileage up to more than five thousand. In the wide and elevated portion above the Stanley Falls, extending south-eastward, is the Lualaba with its great lakes and long affluents, which, however, are navigable only for smaller river crafts, yet largely available for both travel and transportation. On the right of the river, toward the great upland lakes which form the head-waters of the Nile—though the largest and best known of them, the Tanganyika, it is now ascertained sends its waters to the Congo—is a wide expanse of country of which as yet very little is known beyond its great physical characteristics. The outflow of water from Lake Tanganyika, in passing over two hundred miles westward, makes a descent of fully twelve hundred feet, and the south-western shore of that lake rises to an elevation of twenty-five hundred feet above the lake's surface, so making that region the highest land in the Congo basin, a kind of intertropical Switzerland. The whole area of the region now called, by anticipation, the State of Congo, is not less than a million and a half square miles, every part of it abundantly watered and remarkably fertile, everywhere traversed by water-ways, and productive beyond computation of whatever is requisite to human subsistence and to the demands of an advanced civilization.

The climatic conditions of this broad land are no doubt matters of primary interest, and especially since the notion has become prevalent that the climate of intertropical Africa has effectually forbidden the incoming of European and American residents. Because it is intertropical, and also a level country, the Congo land is, of course, a land of perpetual summer. Observations made at Vivi, for the year 1882, show a maximum upward range of ninety-four degrees (Fahrenheit) in February and May, while June, July, and August reached only eighty-six, eighty-four, and eighty-five degrees respectively.

The minimum temperature that year was, in July and August, fifty-six degrees; in June, sixty; in May and September, sixty-seven; in January and December, seventy. Here, as everywhere else, there is among the natives much more dread of the cold than of the heat. The rain-fall for the same year equaled about forty-one and a half inches, of which more than half fell in November, December, and January. February, March, April, and May made an aggregate of nineteen inches, while June, July, August, and September, constituting the dry season, were almost absolutely without rain, and yet these months constituted the coolest season of the year. Though cloudy weather usually prevails in all seasons, yet the rains are intermittent and seldom amount to half an inch in twenty-four hours. Moderate winds prevail at nearly all seasons of the year.

Questions that may be asked respecting the salubrity of the climate cannot be answered in a single word. The fact that there is found through all this region a somewhat numerous population (estimated at not less than fifty millions) of stalwart and muscular people, that there are old men of eighty or over still sufficiently active to be recognized as kings or heads of their tribes, and that there are every-where multitudes of children and young people—all these things sufficiently prove that for its own inhabitants the climate is a health-giving one. Respecting Europeans and all white men, the question becomes complicated with a multitude of facts outside of merely local conditions and influences. Changes of climatic conditions naturally call for adaptations of the physical system to meet the new requirements, the making of which may result either favorably or otherwise. In some cases chronic diseases may be effectually cured, or congenital morbid tendencies held in abeyance; in others the constitutional tendencies to some forms of disease may be quickened into fatal activity, or a latent liability to some unhealthy development, that at home might have remained dormant, may be hastened to its fatal termination. The differences of conditions between a residence in Europe or the United States and one in intertropical Africa are so very considerable, that a removal to the latter from the former must be somewhat perilous, even although the latter may be in fact quite as favorable to health and long life. In every case there must be a process of acclimatizing, which

may or may not be attended by sickness, but is especially liable to be; and during that process, of three or six months, great care must be taken to avoid exposure to the direct rays of the sun, and to the night air, or any form of unnecessary physical or mental strain. The terrible force of the rays of the tropical sun is apt not to be properly appreciated and guarded against, and the night air, continuing well into the morning, is only a little less dangerous. High feeding, especially on animal food, must be avoided, and alcoholic drinks, even in the mildest forms, are superlatively evil. A wholesome and even generous diet, made up chiefly of farinaceous food, with vegetables and fruits, is desirable, with regular and sufficiently-abundant sleep. With these things properly cared for, there is no reason to presume that the climate of Congo land is less healthful than our own more widely variable seasons.

In respect to its ethnology, Congo land is the home of the typical Negro. To the very partial observations to which these people have been submitted they appear to be substantially the same throughout; but it is quite possible that a more intimate acquaintance with them and their traditions will detect more or less of tribal differences. There appears also to be a remarkable uniformity in the mental conditions of the whole population, which is a low, but not the lowest, stage of barbarism. They practice the mechanical arts, of a rude kind, and to a small extent, and their agriculture, which is their principal industry, though of the most primitive kind, is extensive and remarkably productive. As they have no winters or other seasons of unproductiveness to provide for, they escape the horrors of starvation that sometimes desolate the homes of more northern savages. The physical appearance of the people indicates the use of an abundance of food, which is also corroborated by the multitudes of children and the populousness of the country. Animal life is indeed decidedly sturdy and relatively wholesome, despite the many and great drawbacks that are inseparable from the conditions of barbarism. Politically, the people are divided into small tribes, each having its chief or "king," who rules without any clearly defined laws, though the "customs" are recognized and somewhat respected. On some occasions several of these "head men" and their retainers form temporary confederations for aggression or defense, but these

are only partial and temporary. A large portion of the population are slaves, for any man may become a slave-holder by purchase or the spoils of war, but the condition of the slaves is not much less favorable than that of the nominally free. Polygamy is practiced without any legal restrictions, and a man's greatness is often measured by the number of his wives, and of course women are universally the property of their husbands.

Their religious ideas are the simplest and grossest. They have no idea of God, a supreme, super-mundane, and spiritual Ruler; neither have they any ethical code. Conscience with them is apparently only an undeveloped potentiality, and instead of the stoic's sense of honor they display only the coarsest forms of egotism, and self-respect is replaced by supercilious vanity. Their superstition is manifested at every point. They recognize the preternatural in every thing, and of course they are universally fetich worshipers. They believe in the future state, which is, according to their conceptions, very much like the present, and like most other savages they seek to provide for that state by offerings of whatever is most valuable at the grave, or to the *manes* of the dead. As the Greeks sacrificed a man's slaves to accompany and serve him in the spirit world, and as the Hindu widow was burned upon the same funeral pile with the body of her dead husband, that the outgoing soul might be duly attended, so the Congo chief is supposed to be accompanied by his retinue of slaves which are slain at his funeral. Mr. Stanley tells of a case where "a long ago superannuated potentate" had died, and the whole region was searched over for the purchase of slaves to be murdered at his funeral; and at length the sickening massacre was witnessed by two European traders, who were powerless to prevent the horrible transaction. It is enough to say respecting the morality of these Congoese, that they are heathens and barbarians, having, in the usual degree, the vices that universally prevail in such a state of society, with a corresponding absence of positive virtues. Though overbearing to inferiors, they are not brave, and therefore not greatly addicted to war-making; but, when out of danger, they are cruel, truculent, and altogether treacherous. They recognize white men as essentially a superior race of beings, to whom they readily give their confidence, and to individuals of whom attachments are sometimes formed

not unlike that of a dog for his master; and through this influence it may doubtless happen that a genuine moral character may be evoked. By that mode of access the Christian teacher may be enabled to reach the latent moral element in the minds of these people, and so lead them to a higher moral and religious status. Something of this kind seems to have occurred between Livingstone and some of his personal associates; but we find only the most remote approaches to any thing of a like nature in the relations of Stanley to his Congolese.

The volumes now before us, as has already been suggested, come to the public somewhat in the form of a report of proceedings of a commission sent out under the auspices of the "Comité d'Etudes du Haut Congo," an association constituted expressly for the prosecution of explorations on that river, of which association King Leopold II. of Belgium was the chief patron, and Mr. Stanley was the managing agent for the work in Africa. This has since given place to "The International Association of the Congo," constituted early in the present year by the Berlin Conference, in which nearly all the principal powers of Europe were represented by their plenipotentiaries, and in which also the representatives of the United States took part, and whose character and designs are thus stated in the "Declaration" made to and by the Belgian government:

The International Association of the Congo declares by these presents, that, in virtue of treaties concluded with the legitimate sovereigns in the basin of the Congo and its tributaries, it has been ceded the sovereignty of vast territories, with the object of founding a free and independent State; that conventions define the frontiers of the territories of the association as regards those of France and Portugal, and that the frontiers of the Association are shown on the annexed map. . . . [A map attached to the "declaration."] That it assures to foreigners who settle in its territories the right to buy, sell, or lease ground and buildings situated thereon, to establish houses of business and trade (without duties or imposts), under the sole condition of obeying the laws. It undertakes, in addition, to accord no advantage to the citizens of (any) one nation, without immediately extending it to the citizens of all other nations, and to do all in its power to put down the slave trade.

The "Free State" of Congo, as here described, appears to exist, in respect to its governmental authority, in an "Association" guaranteed by the chief governments of Europe. Its

rights of dominion within its proper territory is professedly derived from its former "legitimate sovereigns," which may do well enough as a legal fiction, and as a device for obtaining the needed sovereignty without violence or the sacrifice of the good-will of the local "sovereigns."

The arrangement is good for all parties—a decided improvement upon the policy of seizure and spoliation that prevailed in this continent after its discovery. Treaties with savage races may mean much or little according to the good faith or otherwise that prevails in their formation and execution; in this case it may be hoped that the united influences of the higher morality of our times, and the mutual jealousies of the "powers," will avail to protect the "Free State of Congo" from spoliation by any one of them, and that private enterprise and Christian philanthropy will here find a free field. The arena is ample, and its possibilities beyond estimate; its proper occupation and improvement will constitute the grandest bequest made by the closing to the incoming century.

In respect to the industrial and commercial capabilities of this vast region it is very easy to err in either direction. No nation or people can purchase foreign wares beyond the value of what they have to sell, and it is too obvious to require proof that barbarians and savages are always poor. But the sources of wealth in all this region are both abundant and easy to be made available. The Congo has long been known as a channel for bringing ivory to the coast; and though much that could be gathered up from the remains of dead animals has been already marketed, still much of the same kind remains to be gathered. But the chief supply must be obtained by hunting and destroying the living animals. It is estimated that there are not less than 200,000 living elephants within the Congo basin, carrying in their heads an average of fifty pounds of ivory, of an aggregate value of \$25,000,000. Among other forms of non-agricultural wealth may be named the skins of monkeys, goats, antelopes, buffaloes, lions, and leopards; the gorgeous feathers of tropical birds; the teeth of the hippopotamus; tortoise-shell, bees-wax, frankincense, and myrrh. Of the industries of the forests, those of palm-oil and of India rubber are the principal, and of these the supply is practically unlimited, and they are rendered available by only a little comparatively unskilled labor. There

are also vast sources of wealth in gum, copal, and orchilla weed, which may be picked up by all who will do so, and also in the camwood and redwood powder, which any woman may prepare for market. There are also large opportunities for the production of the metals by native artisans, who now operate mines of iron, copper, and plumbago; nor is there any lack of gold, though not much has been done toward its development.

The agricultural productions of the whole region are already very considerable, with the possibilities of indefinite increase. "Every native village on the Upper Congo," writes Stanley, "has its sugar-cane plots and maize. Bananas and plantains thrive marvelously. In the Kwa valley the natives eat bread of millet flour; but the cassava or manioc furnishes the staple of farinaceous food of the people along the main river."

A black field pea, that grows prolifically with but little cultivation, is much in favor, and of vegetables there are unlimited supplies of sweet potatoes, yams, cucumbers, melons, pumpkins, and tomatoes; and many of the chief varieties of European garden and field plants are found to take kindly to the soil and climate, and to produce abundantly. Rice has been introduced by the Arabs in the eastern portion of the basin, and also wheat; and all the fruits of the torrid zone and many of more temperate regions are found to flourish luxuriantly. In the three great staples of sugar, rice, and cotton the capabilities of this region seem to be practically unlimited; but these can be effectually realized by the industry of the people—and industry is not a characteristic of barbarians, under a tropical sun, with an easily available natural supply for their few and simple wants.

The favorable solution of the African question depends very largely on the further question, whether or not the listless carelessness of the natives can be so far overcome as to enable them to develop the resources of the land about them; nor is this entirely hopeless. Already all along the chief rivers the pursuits of trade are overcoming the natural indolence of the chiefs and of other unofficial traders; and the twin passions, avarice and love of display, are producing their natural results in the form of productive industry. It has been demonstrated that the natives will work for wages, and also that the presence of foreign wares awakens an earnest desire for their possession. If, therefore, these people shall indeed be effectua-

ally restrained from war, and the slave trade and slavery be rooted out, the chiefs will have only the pursuits of trade and industry for their occupation; and with the increase of wealth will come also increased wants, which will in time call for increased productions. And if, further, as is provided for in the regulations of the International Association, all intoxicating liquors shall be effectually excluded, there would seem to be room to hope that the material civilization and elevation of Congo land is not to be despaired of. No doubt, however, the most formidable difficulty in the case will be found in the incompetency of the white men who will be called to aid in the execution of the work. The pages of the work before us show very clearly how grievously the one responsible head of the enterprise found himself handicapped by the incompetence, the indolence, and the perverseness of his appointed assistants. Men go on such expeditions without any adequate conception of their requirements; they are heroes at home, but utterly fail in times of trial. Others are mere adventurers or romancers, who have no relish for steady and taxing labors; or, worse still, some are both selfish and vicious, and will hinder where they are expected to help. If failure shall come to the enterprise, these will be its procurers.

Probably the question of the most lively interest with many of our readers will relate to the possibilities of this vast region as a field for Christian missions. The three great conditions to be taken into account in choosing a field for evangelistic propaganda—sufficient breadth, accessibility, and probable permanence of the people—are found here in all needed fullness. Within this field is found a large share of one of the great ethnic divisions of the human race—less numerous than no other race except only the Chinese and the Hindus—freely offered to the Christian enterprise of the age, and destined beyond any reasonable peradventure soon to become civilized. And in respect to the conditions that promise growth and expansion of the population, instead of the diminution and decay that have so often among barbarous nations resulted from the processes of civilization, here is all that can be wished. There is indeed no reason to apprehend that the cases of the American Indians and the South Sea Islanders, in decadence along with enlightenment, will be repeated among the natives of the Congo land;

and unless all visible indications shall prove fallacious, the Negro is the coming man. These primary conditions therefore are all that could be desired, and the Christian heroism of the age is challenged by them to enter in and possess the land.

It would, however, be a great mistake to assume that an easy conquest is here promised; for though the obstacles to be overcome are largely negative in character, yet are they both real and formidable. The absence of religious convictions and institutions among the people offers very small advantages if there is also a corresponding want of religious susceptibilities. The obstacles to be overcome are chiefly the all-pervading mental and social inertia—the almost absolutely universal indifference in respect to every thing beyond material interests and sensuous pleasures. Heathenism is practically the synonym of depravity, which is both negatively and positively antagonistic to Christian truth and the wholesome restraints of the Gospel. Nor can there be, in even the least compacted tribal or personal relations, an entire absence of social influences; and these will always co-operate with the prevalent tendencies of the common characteristics. The superstition that is always so effective in the heathen mind, while as the expression of the religious intuitions and instincts of the soul it offers a way of access for religious instruction—just as St. Paul used Athenian “extreme religiousness” as a means by which to teach the highest and purest theism—nevertheless at once indisposes the mind to wholesome instruction, and also cherishes its own vanities in opposition to the pure and lofty doctrines and precepts of Christianity. As in the individual soul the successful operations of the Gospel are always effected against opposition, and appear in the form of a victory, so must the Gospel in its approaches to nations and peoples attain to success only by overcoming. The fact that a people are without letters, and have only the faintest ethnic traditions, and are almost entirely destitute of both social and religious institutions, while it may indicate the probability of but little positive and organized opposition to the Gospel, shows however that a great amount of severe and long-continued labor will be required in order to insure success.

The methods of practical operations in Christian teaching must of course be adapted to local conditions and peculiarities.

Religious observances and institutions very largely receive their forms from their environments, as indeed should be the case; and it is great unwisdom to attempt to transplant and reproduce the outgrowths of local conditions into places and among peoples with whom the conditions that first originated them are wanting. Foreign missionaries have very much to learn and unlearn along this line; since, in all cases, the methods of evangelistic action, and the resultant religious and ecclesiastical institutions, must be adapted to the requirements of their circumstances. The "Articles of Religion" of the Methodist Episcopal Church, made up of fragmentary excerpts from the "Thirty-nine Articles" of the Church of England, were from the first a wholly inadequate and ill-expressed formulary of Christian doctrine, because they were originally designed for other and widely different conditions from those of the pioneers of American Methodism. The attempt to make them the standards of faith for Hindus, and Chinese, and Japanese is, therefore, simply the perfection of absurdity. So, too, our "General Rules," because they were originally prepared for and adapted to a very widely different order of things from any thing now found among us, have become, even at home, thoroughly obsolete and without meaning; and certainly only the most insensate literalistic traditionalism would think of setting them up as the ethical code of those to whom the things referred to are wholly unknown. And so in attempting to propagate the Christian faith along the Congo, and to establish religious practices and institutions, it will be well to carefully discriminate between what in our home religion is essential to Christianity and what is only incidental, to be used or laid aside as may seem to be expedient.

It will probably be found that even the divinely appointed institution of "preaching," according to the usual acceptation of that term, will be found not the best suited for Christian instruction among the heathen tribes of Congo land. The work must begin very much lower down than the conditions of mental and social life that are supposed to exist where public address is an available form of teaching. The process by which those heathen barbarians are to be Christianized must provide for their mental elevation as necessary to their acceptance and retention of the saving lessons of the Gospel. It must, there-

fore, begin with the personal influence, made effective principally by examples, of the missionary among the people. He must, therefore, reside sufficiently near to them to be known and felt by them, which means practically that there shall be missionary stations provided with all the conditions of home life, so affording opportunities for informal oral instruction, the creation of a written language, and especially the instruction of the children.

As in the occupation of the country for its industrial development it has been judged necessary to establish stations at proper points, with the required buildings for residences and store-houses, and to plant gardens and provide, as far as practicable, for self-sustentation, so, and even more largely, must missionary work be carried on by the slow but sure processes of occupation and permanent residence. The theory of self-support, though easily rendered absurd and impracticable by its too exclusive application, is no doubt the only theory upon which missions in interior Africa can be successfully prosecuted. Transportation and outfit and temporary sustentation must, of course, be provided in advance; but after the field has been reached and the station provided, mother earth and the strong right arm of the missionary, with such help as he may employ, wielded with cheerful force and sustained by a brave heart, must be the chief dependence. The practicability of this method has been tried by both the Livingstone Congo mission, which has recently been placed under the patronage and guardianship of the American Baptists, and by the English Baptist missions; and, to some extent, similar methods of missionary work are now carried on in various parts of the African continent. Mr. Stanley, though evidently friendly, never assumes the role of the advocate of the missionaries or their work; but occasional glances are now and then given by him, which are all the more valuable because they are purely incidental. We give the annexed as a specimen, and also as an illustration, of what an African missionary station may be:

A few miles beyond we begin the descent into the broad valley of Lukamga, where we are hospitably received by Mr. and Mrs. Ingham, of the Livingstone mission. . . . The mission cottage was as dainty within as any residence need be. A spacious garden behind it presented a vivid promise; a well-kept

court or plaza in front was surrounded by store-rooms, kitchen, and school-rooms. Under the shadowy eaves were to be seen the mission children, with their subdued air, as though they were impressed with the awful mysteries of the alphabet. It rather encouraged me to believe that the Congo climate, even in that low hollow of Lukamga, was endurable, when I here saw a delicate-looking lady bear herself so bravely. . . . My sojourn of twenty-four hours was enjoyed with the most exquisite pleasure. Ten men might have utterly stripped and carried away the veneer of civilization on that mission-house, and left it bare and barbarous (it probably cost only £100); but the art was in the lady's hands, and the rich gift of taste inherited in far away England had diffused attractiveness over the humble home.

Another remark of our author, made in another case, and without any intended reference to the missionary work, is highly suggestive. Estimating the probable number of elephants in the whole country, he drops the remark: "Mr. Ingham, a missionary, lately shot twenty-five elephants, and obtained money for the ivory," which he elsewhere estimates at more than a hundred dollars for each animal. This seems very much like "self-support," achieved without any neglect of real missionary duty.

But all this implies the important consideration that to do successful missionary service in Africa a man must have the elements of character that insure success from the start. He should, of course, have a thoroughly sound physique, with large powers of endurance; but above all else he should have a brave heart and a cool head. A moderate share of enthusiasm may not be without its value, but there should be not a spark of fanaticism. Deep religiousness of character is doubly needful—first, to qualify him to preach Christ in every word and action, unconsciously as well as of set purpose; and, next, to sustain his spirit among the discouragements that are sure to come upon him, and to cause him to feel that it is his highest privilege to labor and suffer for Christ; and only second to this is a buoyancy of animal spirit—the very soul of cheerfulness and hopefulness among adversities. The successful African missionary goes thither to live and to work for the Master rather than to die; and accordingly he is careful not to expose his health to unnecessary perils, and also to be doing something whenever possible—the small things as well as the great—not accounting any service beneath him. The work of the true

missionary must be a "labor of love;" and that this may not fail of its reward it must be sustained by "the patience of hope," never despising "the day of small things."

To attempt a mission in the Congo, there should be a company of half a dozen to a dozen strong young or middle-aged stalwart and common-sense men. There should be neither woman nor child in the first expedition, though at a later stage of the work the presence of the right kind of women is well-nigh a necessity. And above all else, there should be no fine gentlemen. Every missionary to Africa should be a man of faith, who believes in the divinity of his calling, and also in *quinine* as the *magnum donum Dei*, through the instrumentality of which he is to accomplish his mission—just the opposite of the fanatic, who tempts God by exposing himself to uncalled-for perils. That there are such men in the churches we will not doubt; but how they may be found out and brought to the front and initiated into the work is a matter much more difficult to settle.

The Methodist Episcopal Church has two distinct missions in Africa, both under a common superintendency: one in Liberia, which has been very carefully administered for half a century, with only moderate results; the other just now in its incipency, led by Bishop Taylor, and designed to reach from ocean to ocean, through Angola and the valley of the Zambezi, south of the Congo basin. Of the former of these nothing now needs to be said, since it is not an aggressive body, and especially not a mission to heathen Africa. Of the latter, it is yet too soon to speak of results, but we are free to utter words of decided commendation in respect to the theory upon which it is projected; to wit, that after the missionaries shall be established in their proper stations, and fairly engaged in their work, they are expected to provide, as far as possible, for their own maintenance, which we see no reason to doubt is wholly practicable. It is, however, not to be denied that some grave mistakes have been made, especially in making up the *personnel* of the expedition. The man who led out a mother and four children under six years old, on an expedition that only strong men should enter upon, committed a grave mistake; of which, however, he has duly repented, and made the best possible reparation by returning home, a wiser if also a sadder man. The

three or four zealous and godly persons in the expedition who, misinterpreting the divine promises, expected to be preserved by miracles instead of by the use of the natural methods that God has provided have also emphasized their folly, and perhaps set a limit to that form of fanaticism; and if so, the life that has been sacrificed has not been wholly thrown away. The survivors have learned that God saves by means, and that, having the means of safety at hand, it is neither faith nor piety, but presumption, to tempt God by refusing to use them. It may be hoped that any future expeditions that shall go forth on the same sublime mission will have in them no little children, not many women, and the fewest possible irrational enthusiasts. But should the greater part of Bishop Taylor's heroic band succumb in death, or hasten their flight homeward, we shall still expect that a good work will be done by those who continue in it with those who shall hereafter join them, and that the wilderness of the Zambezi valley shall yet bud and blossom, and bring forth its rich fruitage for the Lord of the harvest.

And shall not our Church have a part in the evangelization of the millions that sit in darkness in all the vast area of the Congo basin? Have we not the men for this work—such men as we have described? and is there not the requisite enthusiasm, at once fervid and discreet, to lead them forth to a work so glorious? May it not be hoped that Stanley's Congo will act as a trumpet-call to the Church for Africa?

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

DEATH OF GENERAL GRANT.

To die is men's common destiny; and to each one, in respect to himself, the event is about equally significant. The Roman poet's reminder that

"Pallida mors æquo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas,
Regumque turres,"

is only another rendering of the Hebrew Preacher's "All go unto one place; all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again:" or the words of the Apostle, "It is appointed unto men to die." But there are circumstances and conditions that attend upon the common experience which greatly emphasize and exaggerate the differences of the common event. To die quietly, among loved and sympathizing friends, is often thought of as the most desirable condition of that always serious but inevitable experience. But among the momentous realities of man's exit from his mundane being what can be, in respect to the deceased, more worthless and impertinent than the funereal pomp with which earth's great ones are returned to the earth? The best funeral record ever made was that concerning Israel's great leader, of whom it is written the Lord buried him, though in an unknown grave; or that of the first Christian martyr, whose record is, that "devout men carried Stephen to his burial and made great lamentation over him." There have been many more gorgeous funerals than either of these, as to their outward trappings, but never any that more completely combined all that could be rationally desired.

So we thought as, not long since, we looked upon that unequalled display of military and civic honors among which the mortal remains of the nation's second redeemer were borne to their last resting-place. It was well that a great nation and the people to whom his sword had given back an undivided country to be the perpetual home of none but freemen, should so honor their deliverer; and equally so that they who there saw lying in the arms of death the outward form of one whom the divine providence had called from the humble home of his childhood and raised him up to command armies, and afterward to guide the affairs of the nation, and at length to receive the homage of kings, should at that supreme moment pause to think upon that wonderful career now ended, and to honor the personal qualities that made such a career possible.

The deeds and the renown of our illustrious dead have now become historical, and as such we shall here consider them, but only in some of their many aspects; for time alone can mold the whole into symmetrical unity, and cast over them the curtain of mellow shadings that come

only with the dimness of distance. Still some things are already sufficiently evident, and from these we may more than conjecture what will be the final verdict in the case, and what the aspects of the colossal statue in which the muse of history shall forever immortalize our great and many-sided soldier, statesman, citizen, and father of his household—this unique and peerless MAN.

Macaulay wrote at the opening of his essay on Addison: "No man is so great a favorite with the public as he who is at once an object of admiration, of respect, and of pity;" and none can fail to see how conspicuously all these conditions united in General Grant's case at the time of his death. Very few characters or personal careers present so many and such conspicuous features and incidents, and those so well calculated to awaken admiring interest. Others may be thought of that equal or excel him in some particulars, but in scarcely any other case have there been combined in one person so many particulars that unite to make up an admirable completeness of character. That a country boy without any special advantages of family or other relations—a lad with apparently nothing to distinguish him from the millions of others of the same age and conditions—should, in forty years, ascend through all the steps of life's ladder, from his boyhood's home to the highest points of military and civic distinctions in his own country, and afterward become the accepted and honored guest of the kings and potentates of the world, is something altogether admirable. That one in whom such possibilities were latent should for forty years have remained not only unknown by others, but equally unsuspected by himself as to what he might become, is not only remarkable, but highly suggestive. Though it is not to be supposed that, as to his character, he was the creature of his opportunities, still appearances indicate that but for the War of the Rebellion occurring just at that point in his life-time, in the transactions of which he became so considerable an actor, as well as in the events that followed, he might have lived and died without the suspicion on the part of any body that he was any thing more than the average of the masses of mankind. In the face of the sneering smile of the skeptical in respect to the possibilities of greatness among the unknown masses of our race, such a case greatly strengthens the notion that we have somewhere read, that "In every country church-yard may be found the graves of songless Miltons and bloodless Cæsars—of Hampdens that never struggled against tyranny and of Crammers that never suffered for the truth." But while it is quite certain that no possible accidents could supply the qualities that at length became so conspicuous in General Grant's life and character, it is still clearly evident that but for the opportunity that came unsought and unexpected they would have remained only undeveloped and unknown potentialities.

The conditions and instrumentalities through which men achieve greatness are usually but very partially understood either by the actors themselves or by others; and yet, beyond a question, the divinity that shapes their ends is largely of themselves. It is not surprising that the men

who have accomplished great results in the face of formidable difficulties—who have wrought revolutions and shaped the destinies of nations—have themselves often seemed to be superstitiously impressed with the idea that they were the agents or instruments of a higher power; and those who have studied such men's careers have sometimes seemed to feel the presence and potency of some hidden force by which the results reached were finally determined. And while such actions are in process of execution, they who are engaged in them often appear to those who consider their movements most deeply to be moving within charmed circles, and to be accomplishing their assigned mission in sublime solitude. To be the agents of such works, and to bring them to successful issues, is justly esteemed the appropriate and peculiar calling of earth's real heroes, to whom is due the meed of sincere admiration.

In most cases where men have been thus strangely taken up from those among whom they were found and raised to positions of conspicuous greatness, the change effected has resulted, not only relatively but also really, in a transformation of character and of thought. But in General Grant's case we have a conspicuous example of homely simplicity maintained in spite of the influence of honors and high positions; and after all his exaltation he is seen, like Cincinnatus, returning to his farm, and in death, like Joseph, asking to be buried among his own people; and his whole career is in marked contrast with that of Cromwell, aping the style of royalty, or of Napoleon, assuming the imperial purple.

It is not always the case that the characters of the great men of history will bear close examination on all sides. They are admirable only from a single angle of observation, and their greatness is often lamentably one-sided; and, as if aware of this, men have by a kind of tacit consent agreed that the private lives of public characters ought not to be inquired after. So often is the splendid exterior of great names associated with unsavory and offensive private histories, that conventional politeness forbids all inquiry respecting the latter in dealing with public characters. Genius has often been accepted as earning immunity from the exactions of private morality; and success in gaining renown is taken as a full compensation for all ordinary defects in respect to personal virtue. But this self-delusion and patent falsehood is only for a little while. History, in the sternness of its integrity, disregarding this pernicious rule of social ethics, strips off the mask and false trappings, and presents the character in its completeness, whether it be to depict the most splendid of conquerors as the slave and victim of his own bestial lusts, or to exhibit him who was confessed to be the *wisest* and *brightest* as also the *meanest* of mankind. But in the case we are now considering none of these devices of falsehood are needed, and the clearest and most searching light fully demonstrates the possibility and the reality of irreproachable private virtue associated with high public position. Happily this is not a solitary case; and yet it is well that it should be noted and emphasized that examples of an opposite kind, which are not wanting, may be reproved, and their evil influences restrained. It is pleasant and wholesome to contem-

plate a great and distinguished public man elevated in his personal character and his private life above any possible occasion for the special considerations which society calls for in favor of so many men in public positions. As a husband and a father, as well as a citizen and a man confessing the obligations of Christian morality, General Grant stands before the world to demand and receive the admiration of all who value true moral worth.

It often seems to require the tests of adversity, and especially of severe personal sufferings, to bring out a man's most admirable qualities of mind and heart. There are more heroes, but less real heroism, in the conflicts and destruction of the battle-field than among the wasting pains and hopeless sufferings of the hospitals; and many a one who could without blanching confront death in the excitement of battle, would lose heart under the pressure of protracted sufferings with no other hope of relief than inevitable death. And in this terrible ordeal the whole world saw, with intensified admiration, General Grant patiently and without murmuring struggling between life and death through wearisome days and weeks and months, tenderly caring for the feelings of those who sympathized with him, and compelling himself to cheerfulness among the saddest environments, and seeming to hope against all human hopes in order that his heart might not fail him in the supreme hour. This was true moral courage, itself as much better than what is seen in simply physical conflicts as is the fortitude of the martyr of a higher type than the gladiator's reckless disregard of death.

It was said, when death had done its work, that the conqueror of armies had at last himself found his conqueror. The saying, though correct in the sense intended, and also sadly poetical, was only half true. Even in his death General Grant achieved his greatest victory over his enemies, compelling his most malignant detractors and also his doubtful friends to render either a willing or an enforced tribute to his good name. It is sometimes the lot of the best of men to pass long seasons under the shadows of suspicion and distrust, having their best actions and most unselfish motives misconstrued: possibly some may rest in dishonored graves who deserved a better fate: but in this case, though the poisoned tongue of the defamer had endeavored its worst, the very lips of falsehood were shut up in silence. It was a sight to be admired and prized beyond all other expressions of the common sense of loss, that, when General Grant lay stark and cold in his coffin, not only did every honest heart pronounce his name as that of a *great*, and especially an *honest*, man, but the very breath of detraction was, for the time being, shamed into silence. This final verdict, which seldom fails to be rendered correctly, in this case came not tardily; and its coming, rendered as it was with such complete accord and spontaneous heartiness, determines, beyond all else, that his grand career has ended in triumph. His name now passes into history as that of the soldier who warred without malice and conquered only to spare; of the statesman who ruled the distracted nation in the interests of justice tempered with gentleness; of the citizen whose patriotism was

untainted by any shred of selfishness; and of the honest, upright, tender-hearted, and God-fearing man in all his varied relations. Such a character, standing out in the clear light of day before the American people, must, despite their disinclination to hero-worship, command their *admiration*.

In the constellation of our country's great men, though there is no lack of brilliant characters, there are confessedly but three that surpass all others, and only these are stars of the first magnitude—Washington, Lincoln, and Grant; and of these each shines with his own peculiar light, and is known and admired for his distinctively recognized excellences. Washington was grand in the heroic simplicity of his character and for the loftiness and purity of his patriotism; but his virtues were Roman rather than specifically American, which latter species of manhood was but partially developed in his day. He was also a self-contained, a solitary man, and was, by his grandeur, separated from those about him, living in a kind of self-conscious reticence. His most intimate friends approached him only with manifest deference, and his admirers gazed upon him only from a respectful distance. The historical Washington, as his image is shaped by the common conception, and which alone will be tolerated by his countrymen, whether that image is indeed real or only ideal, is that of a man standing apart from all others, grand, solitary, and unapproachable, and incomparable because essentially unique, not less than on account of his transcendent personal excellences. Lincoln's greatness was also peculiar and indescribable; but, unlike Washington, he was apparently so simple and child-like, and so thoroughly an embodiment of homely, every-day characteristics, that the peculiarities of his mind and heart for which he at length became distinguished, were not at once detected and appreciated; perhaps least of all was he himself aware of any thing peculiar or notable in his own mental composition. But back of that plain and unimpressive exterior was another, an inner, self, which by degrees, and as called out by occasions, manifested its presence both to his own consciousness and to the apprehension of those nearest to him—but only of such as could also somewhat sympathize with his deep spirituality. By virtue of that quality of his mind he lived a double life, and in his higher moods saw things in other aspects and felt other influences than could be appreciated by less gifted souls. It was this that enabled him to see in the tendencies of public affairs the coming of results of which others saw no promise, and which impelled him always to adopt the right measures at the appropriate times. Such a character is not usually appreciated at its proper value by those who view it only among the conditions of daily life, just as a prophet is not honored as such by those who know him personally. But, like some grand mountain peak, which to those at its base seems scarcely distinguished from its surrounding foot-hills, but which distance appears to lift up in unrivaled grandeur, so, quite certainly, will Lincoln's greatness become increasingly conspicuous with the lapse of time. But Grant's greatness was the result of no one particular characteristic. Perhaps in no one quality was he greater than many others have been, but

he was individually great because in him were conjoined and blended in simplest harmony the common elements that go to make up an admirable character. He was certainly a great soldier and military strategist, but not greater than many others that have lived in other times. It was certainly great in him that, when crowned with victory, he so completely subordinated personal ambition to his love of country; but so did also Washington and many other conquerors of their country's foes. He was strangely forbearing and kind to his vanquished enemies, but so was also Demetrius; and while he was as formidable in battle as a Napoleon and as prodigal of life as a Cromwell, he was as tender as a father in respect to the welfare of his soldiers; and this, too, has not been an unusual characteristic of great military leaders. But these characteristics, each one of which has rendered some former warrior illustrious, were all largely developed and combined in his character and manifested in his career. As a soldier, he ranks with Napoleon and Wellington; as an unambitious patriot, he has no peer but Washington; and in all the qualities of soldierly honor, care for his subordinates, and clemency toward the vanquished, he is the equal of the most honored names in military history.

But his special praise is, that in the presence of the full blaze of military glory, and through the glamour of civic and political splendor, his private virtues and personal qualities are especially conspicuous. The renown of the hero and the statesman does not obscure the qualities of the man; but instead, those must be laid aside in order that his nobler excellences may properly appear. His highest praise is, that in his utmost exaltation, and while receiving the homage of the whole world, he never for a moment forgot his private and personal relations and their resultant obligations—his duties to his family, the claims of private friendship, and the sacred obligations of morality and religion. Washington is truly illustrious, but we view him from a distance, and estimate his character in its aggregate unity rather than by any inventory of its qualities; Lincoln is honored as a man who combined the simplicity of a child with the wisdom of a sage, the sagacity of a statesman and the loveliness of a great human heart. But Grant was in the aspects of his character simply a man—the patriotic citizen who diligently served his country in the positions to which he was called; the faithful friend and neighbor, husband and father, who recognized and rendered the duties derived from all his relations. The well-rounded completeness of all these common elements of human worth constituted his peculiar and transcendent greatness; and perhaps because of this symmetry of character his relative greatness is not always apparent, just as a colossal statue, if well proportioned, fails to appear monstrous. Every one is sufficiently great who is equal to all the demands made upon him, but only peculiar conditions and special opportunities can test men's highest qualities; and wherever the largest requirements are adequately responded to, there true greatness of character is demonstrated. All these conditions, it may be safely claimed, were united in the case of him whose career we are now considering, whose

fame, while so conspicuously that of both the soldier and the civilian, was pre-eminently that of the *man*.

The aspect in which the public contemplate the memory of General Grant has in it an element that is often wanting in respect to great public characters, and which, beyond all else, is charily and sparingly rendered—that of genuine personal respect. Honor, and indeed devotion, is given more freely than this, and even love is less cautious and self-restrained. The qualities of mind and heart that command respect are not always the most showy, though, unhappily, they are often the most difficult to find in the requisite completeness. There must be honor and truthfulness, unselfishness coupled with self respect, and conscientiousness associated with high resolves. All these characteristics may indeed be found in humble and undistinguished persons; and even there they command respect, and render those who possess them objects of favor. Men instinctively honor them wherever they are detected; and they of whom such qualities may be predicated are sure of the favorable consideration of all right-thinking men; and all who know how to justly estimate men's good-will and true reverence will value genuine respect as the rarest and the most precious tribute. And because all these high qualities are conceded to have been eminently exemplified and illustrated in the life and character of our hero, we may from that ground claim for him the favoritism of the public, as indicated in Macaulay's aphorism. Nor is it necessary for us to vindicate his rightful claim to all of them. The poisoned tongue of detraction has not dared to call in question either his truthfulness or his honor, nor yet his conscientious devotion to his own convictions of right, coupled with a lofty and self-respecting detestation of all impurity, profanity, and moral coarseness. The meanness of partisan malice, which lives by defiling the purest and best of names, has not dared either to assail the unselfishness of his patriotism or to call in question the elevation and nobility of his purposes. Should some one, by a strange freak of miscalculation, come to lightly estimate Grant's soldierly qualities and to conclude that he was not a statesman, he must still concede and recognize in him the qualities that command respect. And upon these qualities his public renown rests, as upon an immovable foundation; and these less conspicuous but more excellent qualities are necessary to raise even the most admirable characteristics and conditions to their proper eminence. And because the possession of public renown is always a temptation to the harpies of detraction to attempt to defile and destroy it, the defense of true respectability is the only and the sufficient safeguard against such onslaughts. Men who appreciate true excellence like to think well of the public deeds of those whom they have learned to confide in as personally upright and virtuous, for the love of goodness.

It may seem a strange condition of things that one so admired and respected as General Grant certainly had come to be, should also appear as an object of pity; and yet this was his case to an unusual degree. It is not necessary, in this connection, to notice the petty detractions of partisan or personal gossip, since these are the common accompaniments of

exalted public positions; nor yet the rivalries of those who, striving after self-aggrandizement, were willing to discredit the purest and best as a means by which to become possessed of his position; for this, too, must be accepted as a part of the price of public honor. We have more particularly to consider the case of one who, at life's high noon having completed an unparalleled public career, found himself in a condition that both permitted and required him to begin the world anew, but who failed in the attempt, first by the treachery of those whom he trusted, and next by being laid aside by an accident more disastrous than all the fortunes of war; and, last of all, to be brought through protracted and terribly painful sufferings down to death. When General Grant had come home from his wonderful tour round the world, weighted with honors such as have fallen to the lot of few men, he was simply a private citizen without occupation. He was still at the height of his physical and intellectual manhood, apparently with nearly a quarter of a century of active life before him. He now appeared to have at last found the long-coveted opportunities to do something for his family; to engage in social and public enterprises; and to avail himself of the benefits offered by a dignified leisure. That such were his anticipations is well known; and they were honorable to him in view of his relations, his abilities, and his exalted social position; and yet how, at every point, were these reasonable expectations thwarted! How did his property melt away like the hoar-frost! how were the mementoes of his honors given into the hands of strangers, and even a temporary shadow rest upon his good name! And then, just as the darkest of these shadows seemed to be passing away—for neither reproach nor disaster can permanently oppress the good man—the signs of a malignant and incurable disease began to appear; and, through slowly-moving weeks and months the whole world was called to contemplate the illustrious sufferer steadily and surely, in intense and unrelenting pain, yet without repining or faint-heartedness, going down to death. The sight of suffering naturally tends to excite pity, and its intensity is somewhat proportioned to not only the pain suffered, but also the greatness of him who suffers; and by all these conditions the tender sympathies and commiseration of the whole people were concentrated about the couch of the dying hero. The nation that had long honored him for his greatness and respected him for his integrity was now deeply moved by a common impulse of pity because of his unequalled sufferings.

THE LABOR PROBLEM IN AMERICA.

A superficial observer, looking back at the relations of labor and capital in this country during the past few years, would be little likely to deduce many elements of encouragement or hope from his forecast of the social and industrial future of the United States. And this may be said, not only because superficial views are apt to be unreliable in themselves, but

because there are certain peculiar economic heresies in America which are almost sure to find their way into careless methods of dealing with the labor problem. One of these has so many appearances in its favor that even foreigners, as a rule, adopt it without hesitation. The broad lines by which the interests of labor and capital seem to be separated; the apparently uncompromising spirit that inspires each in the assertion of principle on the one hand, and of class rights on the other; the pointedness of the language used; the sensitiveness of highly-strung individualities to personal rather than collective grievances; the tendency to attach an exaggerated importance to the interventions of force—all these seem to give a European character to the labor problem in this country, and to involve the working classes of the American continent in a common economic destiny with the toiling millions of the Old World. Yet nothing can be more fallacious than to regard capital and labor as having in the United States the same conditions of mutual relationship and development as the *doctrinaires* lay down for them in the countries of Europe. True enough it is, that in its broader aspects political economy is universal in its application. But to employ it in support of the assumption that the labor problem is the same on both sides of the Atlantic is to perpetrate the worst kind of heresy. Not only does it present itself in a different way to each of the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race, but the conceptions upon which its very existence as a social question is based—the conditions that make it possible and rule its changing aspects—are alike distinct and diverse in the Old World and the New.

Take for illustration the sources of social order and government. In the older countries of Europe society draws its stability, at least in the popular conception, from monarchical institutions that exist independently even of the aristocratic elements that cluster around them—from a small number of favored personalities who rule in most cases without the slightest fiction of responsibility to the people, and who, even when exercising the functions of government side by side with a constitutional assembly, claim prerogatives that have had no popular sanction. In this country the forces which maintain social order not only represent the people themselves, but are the actual products of the popular will and consciousness. In Europe the relations of society to the power of the State express a subordination of a peculiarly humiliating kind. They represent that abject tutelage to an absolute authority, and blind submission to an hereditary superiority, which characterized the earliest and most barbarous forms of human government. The real fallacy of Rousseau's "*Contrat Social*" lay not in the great Frenchman's assumption of an impossible or an unreal relation between governor and governed, but in his selection of the monarchical countries of Europe for the assertion of an original compact between royal and democratic elements for purposes of social order. Such a compact, whether express or only tacit—whether effected in the brief space of a personal covenant or during the secular evolution of an historical era—could not possibly take place, or even be conceived, amid social conditions such as those of the Old World. If

there be any material for the theory of a "social contract" it must be sought in the United States. In this country there is no pretense, not even the slightest, of an absolute authority; nor is there any claim, even by force of acquiescence, to functions of government that may be exercised apart from the people or for an indefinite time. America offers to the world the remarkable spectacle of a population which has not only agreed to be governed, but which regularly provides the machinery of its government. One might point to an act of voluntary surrender not less real or valid because it was not made by document in the presence of a notary public; and yet it is a finer and truer thing to say, that the people of the United States, instead of agreeing to be ruled, govern themselves. Here we leave the ground of the "social contract," and approach that of the ideal state.

The significance of this difference in the source of power will be seen all the more clearly when regard is paid to the tendency in old civilizations to rank property on the side of monarchy, and give it the advantage of a special protection. This tendency is seen in the greater severity of penalties for offenses against property as compared with punishments for crimes involving no breach of the rights of possession. It survives in the saying that alleges the existence of one law for the rich and another for the poor. In not a few of the countries of Europe it does actually rob the impecunious classes of much of the protection they ought to enjoy at the hands of the law. Now in the United States this tendency, though formally expressed in inherited legislation, plays no part as a factor in the labor problem. In countries where the power of the ruling class has an existing or an historical foundation in wealth, the favor extended by the law to capital is sometimes carried to the extreme of a conspiracy by legislative forms against the natural rights of whole classes of the people. Of this kind of persecution a striking illustration was afforded in the attempts made to crush incipient trades-unionism in England. Here, fortunately for the labor interest, and not less happily for the personal elements of capital, social conceptions make no distinction between the man who gives work for wages and him who pays wages for work. The so-called independence of American labor is a natural and expressive condemnation of the groveling spirit in which opportunities of toil are so often received by the downtrodden proletariat of European lands. Nor is the nearness of labor to capital in this country confined to the merely social aspects of life. A higher rate of wages—a more intense and healthily chronic dissatisfaction with spheres of toil that only partially engage the worker's powers—a feeling of greater pride and ambition that refuses to be contented with the bottom of the ladder, even should the top offer no superior pecuniary advantage—these are among the causes that in the United States lessen the number of steps which European conditions place between the position of the workman and that of the employer.

Labor in America is further favored by its isolation. In the countries of Europe advantages of locality, should they present themselves, can only in the nature of the case be temporary. The labor markets of con-

tigious populations cannot long maintain a state other than that of completed equilibrium. Most of them occupy the same level, so far as the rate of remuneration for labor is concerned ; none of them can hope to have their prospects permanently modified for the better by mere changes in the nature of migrations. It is true that very little international movement of this kind takes place, barriers of language and custom forbidding the transfer to a foreign country of labor that would promptly avail itself of suddenly favorable circumstances on its own and familiar soil. None the less quickly and surely, by the operation of causes well known to political economists, is a temporary increase in the remuneration of labor or the profit of capital brought down to the general level of the European markets. From a "leveling down" tendency of this kind America is saved, first, by the superiority of her natural resources, mediately, by her distance from the Old World. That she will hold this favorable position forever need not be contended. It is being continually undermined by economical forces that, if slow in operation, are irresistible in their effects. The equilibrium which the old countries have established among themselves must inevitably be set up in the end between Europe and the American continent. To this result every emigrant-laden ship contributes, bringing an immediate beneficence so far as the effect is contemporary, laying the foundations of economical evil so far as the end is secular and remote. Yet, until these emigration currents cease to flow from the east, American labor must continue to enjoy advantages from which the workman of Europe has been shut out by centuries of competitive exploitation.

Toil on this side of the Atlantic can also claim the added dignity of a complete freedom from the influence of distinctions of class that erect barriers between man and man. In the older civilizations well-defined relations of subordination have not only grown up in the family, but find a greater or less degree of expression in the business and social aspects of life. Now in a new country like ours, where there is, undoubtedly, a connected sequence of inherited traditions based on blood, but where the combinations of the social fabric are new, the family fails to insist upon its relations of subordination with the same harshness as that which characterizes the persistence of those relations in the older societies of Europe. The attitude of capital toward labor is consequently less authoritative and more altruistic. A tacit consciousness of equal rights and privileges robs toil, whether offered or received, of its ancient character as a benefaction. A new country, moreover, favors compromises and adjustments between so-called rival interests. Ideas are not yet crystallized into conceptions; opinions have not hardened into prejudices. Individuality, on the other hand, is less shackled by the influences which in mature countries social masses wield over their single elements; the tendency to gregarious following after agitators paid or unpaid is demonstrably weak. That the combinations of capital in this country are young is an advantage to both of the great interests under discussion. Such combinations in Europe are often the result of long secular accumulations; in too many cases they

enjoy age without possessing wisdom, and waste their formidableness in injudicious irritations of labor. The wages fund of the United States is for the most part represented by young corporations less unbending, and perhaps more cautious, or at any rate not easily lured into illegal positions or unjust attitudes by a mere love for displays of force.

The prospects of the American labor problem, full of encouragement when viewed alone, draw a special hopefulness from their association with the brilliant future which the materials and conditions of our sociological development hold out to the United States. The few ruder characteristics of a young civilization are fast melting away in the dawn of a maturer epoch for the inhabitants of this continent. Here, at any rate, the "brotherhood of man" is no longer a poetic dream. In Europe, even in a country civilized, as is England, the foreigner still occupies a place in popular conceptions little higher than that filled to old Greek imaginations by the "barbarian" who could not be understood. In this country no man shudders at the sound of a strange tongue, nor starts at the apparition of some wanderer from the shores of the Old World. And this continual entry of new anthropological elements—this settlement in our midst of races the most diverse—this absorption of foreign custom, language, and blood—this process, in fact, of the assimilation and reaction that is everywhere tending to the evolution of a certain measure of physiological uniformity out of a pronounced racial heterogeneity—all these are so many influences continually engaged in breaking down barriers such as those which separate classes in the Old World, as well as in promoting that form of altruism which is not only one of the highest satisfactions of religious feeling, but which must ever present itself as the aim and end of all perfect civilization. And in saying this, it is by no means the ideal future of the theorists that we have in view. The time may or may not come when individuality shall have grown to be its own lawgiver, and when a practical communism will exist as intolerable of poverty on the one hand as of large accumulations of wealth on the other. In our own view it is enough to look forward to a homogeneous population without distinctions of race; to a society not yet old, but crystallized enough to yield, with healthy conceptions, a settled characteristic literature; to a higher view of international duty fitly co-existent with the new altruism at home than any that has been born from progress in the Old World; and finally, to a spirit that shall not destroy, but tolerate, the mutual necessities of capital and labor in a dual existence of perfect harmony and happy compromise.

EDMUND NOBLE.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE seems to be the all-absorbing question among the religious publicists of France and Italy. The Italian statesman Minghetti has published a rather remarkable work on this subject, with a striking introduction by Laveleye, of Belgium, who is fast coming to the front as one of the safest, as well as most advanced, thinkers of the day in this line. Minghetti, as deputy and minister of the kingdom of Italy, is peculiarly competent to write a work of this nature, for he is at once philosopher, jurist, economist, canonist, and statesman. His pages on modern science and the relation between science and religion, as well as the relation between religion and civil society, disclose the true philosopher.

Minghetti does not consider the theological faculties as the homes of ignorance, nor theology as an instrument of oppression, and he boldly declares that to neglect these matters is to lower the level of one's studies. And his friend and eulogizer, Laveleye, goes still further in declaring that any separation of these powers should be only civil, as a moral union between the two must always exist, and the separation itself should be but a measure of public right.

On the basis of these studies, Dartigue, in the "*Revue Chretienne*," takes up the cudgel for France in an important article treating of the solution in its two phases of liberal and radical. He declares that the French are proceeding rapidly in this matter, drawn by an irresistible current, which is increasing day by day, and which will soon acquire a volume that will overcome all resistance. With him the proposed separation is in the *logique* of ideas, and as ideas govern the world, this *logique* will, sooner or later, mold the morals and control the laws. It is to-day discussed everywhere—in the press, on the forum, and at the political gatherings. Every real democratic progress, as well as every liberal reform, shakes the edifice of the Concordat, and this, by dint of repetition, will finally lead to its fall. The point made by Dartigue in his discussion is the difference between the liberal solution and the radical one; the latter would destroy all religion, while the former would follow in the footsteps of the United States, Ireland, and, to a certain extent, of Belgium. The French Protestants are strengthened in their convictions by the course of Gladstone in this matter, and the present extensive discussion of the same question in Scotland.

In the French Chambers, which reflect the popular voice, scarcely any serious discussion takes place that does not at least touch on this matter; and while there is at present a majority against separation, this same majority is at the same time so disposed to push the Concordat to the wall as to make its friends inclined to wish its repeal. If the Radicals succeed in this effort the moment will have arrived for energetic action on the part of the Liberals.

THE FESTIVE WEEK is the title given to an account of all the religious anniversaries recently held in Berlin. The activity of the German Christians is certainly beyond all question, and it almost takes one's breath away to undertake to follow all their movements.

The young men's associations, though so recent in origin, have grown marvelously. There are now over a hundred of these, with nearly ninety thousand members. It is proposed to add to these the new feature of a fund for aid in sickness or death, and the reports from the various bodies is very encouraging.

The work of publishing and circulating Christian publications for the masses is a phenomenal success; 71,500 sheets are now issued weekly, more than double that of last year. This enterprise was recently begun amid jeers and doubts, now it is greatly prized and praised, and the money for the work seems to come by faith—no deficiencies are reported. The city mission work of Berlin is also growing greatly. Dr. Stöcker, the court-preacher, gives a great deal of time and energy to the work, and is now enlisting the theological students as teachers in the mission schools. The city mission publication office issues weekly 73,000 sermons, which are distributed largely among those who else would neither see nor hear a sermon in their lives. This mission now reports the erection of an asylum for discharged criminals, where they can be aided in their efforts to lead a new life.

The Protestant Mission for the Heathen held its anniversary before a crowded house. During the year it has done a large work in Africa and China, having baptized in the latter country 1,686, and in China 67. At an overflow meeting in the evening the leading pastors of the capital were present, and the main question discussed was that of missionary activity in the new colonies of Germany.

In a so-called pastoral conference, very largely attended, the consistorial councilor led off in the discussion of the burning question of the duel in the German universities. His address was full of historical material, and culminated in the watch-word, "Abolition of the Duel!" He advised his fellow-clergy to decline co-operation in the funeral of any one falling in a duel, as they now mostly do in that of a suicide.

A movement was made to form a pastors' league for the more effectual working of the various interests in which the Church should be engaged. Some of these were: social reform in legislation for the interests of workmen; repose for the workingman on the Sabbath; measures against the growing propensity to drink; a higher tax on the manufacture of liquor, and a fine for public drunkenness.

Then came a conference in the interest of prison discipline, with an address on youthful criminals, and a serious admonition for our times. The greatest danger in this case was declared to be the education for crime that they receive within prison walls from contact with old offenders; therefore an earnest appeal was made for separate prisons for the young, and reformatory asylums for them when released. The week closed with the anniversary of the Society for the Conversion of the Jews.

THE ARMENIAN PEOPLE are now emerging from a long obscurity, greatly to the gratification of Oriental scholars. Within the last few decades the various lands of the Orient, especially China and Japan, have rapidly come within the range of our knowledge. But all those portions lying under the iron heel of the Turk have remained closed. The western sections of Asia Minor have been the scene of various ethnological expeditions that have afforded subjects of great interest, but the more eastern regions have not received much attention, and this has been very specially the case with Armenia. This nation has, during four centuries, preserved its intellectual, if not its political, independence, a fact which is worthy of our regard and esteem.

In their little Alpine land the Armenians have been able to preserve a portion of the treasures of classical antiquity, while in Europe the migrations of the masses have, in many instances, destroyed all the inheritance of the past. In spite of Mongolians and Tartars, Greeks and Arabs, Kurds, Turks, and Russians, the Armenians have remained true to the faith and language of their fathers. Those who have so proud a past to show do not easily efface their traditions in the days of darkness; and in their case the Turkish sway seems to have made them only the more loyal to the past. Ruled by a nation so far below them in culture, the Armenians have been the more zealous within themselves; and thus, far from their native land, the monks of the Armenian cloister at Venice have protected and printed the precious relics of the Armenian writers of ancient times, while in their own mountain home a new intellectual life has sprung up that is now producing numerous literary works and sending forth some valuable periodicals.

A recent Bavarian guest among them has given to the Academy of Sciences of Munich a very interesting account of their present activity. They are now studying the principal works of foreign authors in nearly all lines of literature, and are translating the masterpieces of Goethe and Schiller, of Shakespeare and La Fontaine, into their own tongue. Their journalistic activity is quite marvelous, consisting of monthly, weekly, and daily issues, treating of the progress of all modern literature.

They are also founding schools on the model of the German Gymnasias, which are controlled by teachers who have received their training in Germany. A Normal School in Tiflis prepares teachers for the lower schools, and the fact that this work is well done is seen in the announcement that in Russian Armenia no less than eight hundred male and female teachers are employed. Many young Armenians, in their thirst for knowledge, are making great sacrifices to qualify themselves in foreign schools—mostly, those of France and Germany—for posts of honor and usefulness in their own country; and thus the day seems to be rapidly approaching when this downtrodden and much-belied nationality will lift its head as an intellectual light in the midst of the surrounding darkness of Mohammedan rule, and it may be hoped that the heaven which has been so long hidden in the meal will rise to assert its virtue in favor of Christian civilization. May the time be hastened!

ALCOHOLISM IN DENMARK is just now the ruling question of discussion in that little kingdom. The Order of Good Templars has been established there, and the conflict is being carried on in genuine American style. During the five years of its existence the order has increased to ninety lodges, with about 3,500 members, though some of these are children's lodges. The attention of the public is gained by numerous placards every-where, even, a reporter says, in the railway depots; and the lodges have frequent festive meetings, with music and song. The speeches on these occasions are at times patriotic, and at times assume a religious form, and very often the cause of the order is presented as the cause of God, which shows how thoroughly alike are the Danish and American ideas on this subject.

This religious tendency of the work has caused in some quarters no little opposition, so that a branch is likely to be formed on the basis of "intelligence and science," to all of which there is no special objection if this banner will bring in more converts to the cause. The pledge of this branch will be total abstinence for one year, and not for life, as with the Templars; but even here the principle of total abstinence is regarded as the main pillar of success in spiritual and material warfare. This new order looks especially toward exerting an influence on legislation. And besides these, there are reported also in Denmark a great variety of total abstinence societies of other shades, so that the sum total of active temperance people runs up to about 25,000, which is a large number in so small a country for a cause so new and foreign to European instincts.

In Copenhagen the temperance people are establishing coffee and eating houses, in which the only alcoholic drink is beer, and this is sold only in connection with food. Five of such houses are now in operation, and they are largely patronized by the working classes, so that the capital stock has earned during the year three per cent. dividend. And the Danes say that this is a proof that these advance the cause of temperance, as only ten per cent. of the guests call for beer.

IN FRANCE colonization is the question that ranks all others, and the continual repetition of the matter in all its phases proves how deep a root it has taken on the public mind. In the Chambers nearly every debate slips into it, and the coming elections will very probably hinge on it.

One very decided advantage to be gained by this tendency will be a more extended and accurate knowledge of geography on the part of the nation at large, which is, be it said, not very well posted in this science. The cause of this unceasing furor is doubtless the mortification of the country at the great defeats in the Franco-German war, and the soothing balm which these doubtful victories afford to the pride of the nation.

The raid begun some time ago with Tahiti, which had been for a season only a French protectorate, and as such was ruled, it seems, in the interest of Catholicism, notwithstanding the leaning of the natives toward Protestantism. But the Tahitians are now French citizens, and, as such, are at liberty to exercise their own free choice in the matters of religion.

When this affair was settled the "*grande nation*" turned its attention to the northern coast of Africa, and by the final annexation of Tunis now controls the whole northern coast of Africa, from the Gulf of Gabes to the confines of Morocco. This they claim as an admirable victory of the army, the navy, and the diplomats; but a good many people regard the whole movement as a simple piece of chicanery. It is, of course, a gratifying affair to make the Mediterranean a French lake, and have, within twenty-four hours of Marseilles, a magnificent French colony on the opposite shore peopled by active Frenchmen, whose energy will produce wealth and power. But France has possessed now for fifty years a large portion of this coast, and has done but little with it. Now the Church, under the active Archbishop Lavirgerie, will try its hand at the task.

IN ROME the movement among the soldiers of the army toward the so-called "Military Congregation" still increases. The now famous Luigi Capellini, who was himself a soldier for eight years, has been for thirteen years busy among the soldiers of the national army stationed in Rome. At the same time he visits every summer various camps in central and southern Italy, in order in these to scatter the good seed. During this period more than a thousand soldiers have left the Catholic Church, and been accepted as members of this Protestant Military Congregation.

In this way, at the close of their three years' service, they return to their homes, taking their Bibles with them to their friends and comrades in various parts of Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia. Capellini has been so successful in his work of elevating the common soldier that the king of Italy, over a year ago, conferred on him the Order of the Crown of Italy. This induced him to make an effort to have a more substantial locality for his work in the vicinity of most of the barracks, where he could have a hall for his religious meetings, a place for a reading-room, etc.

A goodly sum has been collected for this purpose, and his efforts now seem about to be crowned with success. He has found for sale a group of buildings that are well situated for mission purposes and other needed additions, but he requires a considerable increase in his funds before he can secure them, as the work has grown on his hands. In order to procure what he wants a company of influential Protestant gentlemen, mainly Scotchmen and Germans, have formed themselves into a committee to collect funds in aid of the military mission. They are about to present their plans in circles where they have influence, both in Italy and elsewhere, and there is little doubt of their success. The Protestant world may well aid this enterprise, as it forms the most direct and effective means of sending to all parts of the peninsula veritable missionaries in the persons of the returning soldiers of this Congregation.

THE INDEX EXPURGATORIUS has received the compliment of a thorough examination in a large work of two volumes, of which the latter is just before the public. It is from the pen of Professor Reusch, of the University of Bonn, and is quite a curiosity from what it reveals of the literary

acumen of the former dignitaries of the Church. The forbidden books are arranged chronologically and geographically, and the catalogue is brought down to the year 1834. It throws a new and sharper light on some of the internecine conflicts of the Church, especially those of the Jansenists, Gallicans, and Quietists.

So far as Protestant literature is concerned, it proves that, in general, the Index seemed to strike by mere chance, depending largely on the views of the prefect or the secretary of the period. Many Protestant theologians, well known as controversialists, are not mentioned in the Index, while the works of some other subordinate ones are quoted and condemned. In addition to this there are found a large number of works that in their day were of no account, and are now wholly forgotten. Most of the works of the earlier periods are in the Latin, and among the dogmatists quite a number of prominent Lutherans are not mentioned; why some are included while others are excluded no one can now imagine. Of the historians, Ranke's "History of the Popes" and Gregorius on the "History of the City of Rome" receive the honor of expurgation.

In regard to the authority of the Index in the Romish Church, the author declares that in earlier times the view of the Curia in regard to many of these works was not always considered binding, especially in France, Germany, Spain, Belgium, and even a part of Italy. But since the days of the infallibility dogma the Index has acquired increased importance, and has been considered binding. Any controversy now in the strictly churchly circles is no longer considered admissible. It is now considered the right thing to speak of the Index with great respect. The Index is now mainly useful as a manual in the control of the clergy on the part of the Curia; for other purposes it is more curious than useful.

THE POLICY OF THE POPE toward the State power has been for some time in doubt on account of his trouble with the "Journal de Rome" and its editors, both of whom have been silenced by his order for interference in and criticism of his official correspondence. The *quidnuncs* have insisted that all this means a change of policy on the part of the Pontiff. But the latest utterances of the great vicar dispel all these hopes. The Pope's own special organ, the "*Osservatore Romano*," denies any probability of a change of opinion toward the present order of things in Italy, and declares it folly to think that such a change can take place toward a government that began its career with despoliation of the papal power.

This official organ is now again very careful to assert that the Pope still maintains the fixed determination to claim his undiminished rights. And to settle the matter, it is now asserted that the Cardinal Secretary of State has sent dispatches to all the nuncios at foreign courts which absolutely deny the reports of the Paris journals, and designate them as the effort of the ultra clericals to exert a pressure on the Pope. According to this dispatch, while Leo XIII. will tolerate no opposition of certain fanatics against his highest authority, he can in no way tolerate any violence toward the inalienable rights of the Church and the Papacy.

A DECREE of the French Minister of Worship to the consistories of the Reformed Church of France is at present causing considerable consternation in that body. The minister has observed that a certain number of persons, without the official character demanded, have been supplying churches, obtaining their authority simply from the unofficial synods. This practice, he declares, is in conflict with the ordinance that no candidate can exercise spiritual functions in the Protestant worship without first having acquired the degree of Bachelor of Theology in the regular schools. The clergy are, therefore, directed to take no part in these "irregular consecrations," and not to accept them in their churches. The significance of this decree lies in the fact that the right of decision as to religious qualifications is withdrawn from the authorities of the Church and given exclusively to the civil authorities. It seems that the unofficial synod—that is, the orthodox ministers of the Reformed Church—resolved, four years ago, to grant ordination to candidates not having university diplomas, if, in other respects, they were clearly fitted for the divine office. The motive to this action was the need of preachers in many parishes, and the need of those who have faith in the Church, rather than those leaning toward secular culture as a sufficient qualification. A goodly number of godly men have been thus appointed, with no interference on the part of the State, which now suddenly springs this trap. This action clearly indicates the influence of the liberal clergy with the State officials, and a disposition to interfere with the action and liberty of the Church.

THE OLD CATHOLICS seem to hold their own and keep in good spirits, if we are to judge from their recent synod in Bonn, at which were present twenty-five clerical and forty-three lay members. Among these we notice the names of some prominent men, who have for some time been quiet, but who now seem to be renewing their activity. Bishop Reinkens is still vigorous, and addressed several public meetings. The private assemblies were for strictly official work.

The National Catholic Church of Switzerland also held its synod in Berne, with a good attendance of laity and clergy. According to the annual report of Bishop Herzog, there are forty-three congregations now organized in Switzerland, of which the largest are those in Zurich and Basle. There are now enrolled sixty clergy in this new enterprise, and there is a school in Berne with a faculty and ten students. The present condition of this Church is represented as very gratifying, but there is pressing need of financial aid for the training school.

It is quite gratifying to notice the practical activity of the Germans in the matter of missions in the newly-acquired German colonies in Africa. In the immediate vicinity of the Togo country the Bremen missionaries have a seminary, with twenty-seven pupils preparing for the work. The entire New Testament, a portion of the Old, a hymn book, the Catechism, and sundry school books are already translated into the language of the

people. German missionaries are invited to come into the Koba territory. Certain prominent Christians of Berlin have united to establish a mission in the rear of Zanzibar with a German pastorate. In Agra-Pequena there have been Germans from the Rhenish mission for forty-five years, who have established eight stations by great efforts. In the German colonies of Australia efforts are being made to start the missionary work in the islands of New Britain. They are also looking toward work in Emperor William's Land, and in New Guinea. The Cameroons are already pretty well provided for by the Baptists, so that the Germans will not interfere there. But every-where the demand is greater than the supply.

THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY is still on the increase throughout Germany, greatly to the satisfaction of the Church. And the motives that impel to this flood-tide are evidently serious—that is, the young men are not simply resorting to theology as a profession, as in former times, but seem rather to be impelled by the Spirit of Jesus Christ. This can be seen when certain questions, such as that concerning dueling, are brought up for discussion, which they are more than ever inclined to treat from a Christian rather than a worldly stand-point. The German Universities have done their share toward unsettling the minds of young men in the matter of theological study by their excessive attention to the scientific questions of the day, and there is now a reaction from that course. Indeed there is likely to be too great a movement in this direction. Many of the students are turning with disgust from this plethora into the more practical work of preparing themselves for theological work alone, so that their teachers are urging the older men of the clergy to go before them with the good example of the *just medium* in all things.

French theologians are preparing the way for the intelligent observance of the second centennial of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes by the publication of several very excellent treatises on the history of French Protestantism. Of these the most noted is that of Claude, revised and enlarged by Rev. Frank Puaux, editor of the "*Revue*." This is the best defense extant of the Protestants against the cruel edict of Louis XIV. When in all Europe the agents of that monarch audaciously denied the persecutions of which the Reformers were the victims, Jean Claude undertook the duty of telling the story in his famous work, "*The Complaints of the Cruelly Oppressed Protestants*." Into this defense Claude threw a fiery eloquence that has lost nothing by time. And now the notes of Puaux, accompanying the text, throw light on any obscurity that might appear in the present. Another work, entitled "*The Synods of the Desert*," details all the acts of these famous synods held in secret from the death of Louis XIV. down to the days of the Revolution, here collected and published for the first time. This is by Edmond Hugues, of the French Academy.

Assuming that we like "to see ourselves as others see us," as a matter of curiosity, we give our readers a short extract from a German religious

periodical of the old school in regard to the style of preaching the Gospel in this country:

American preachers have a marvelous skill in preaching about all conceivable things except the Gospel pure and simple. This, to them, is too old-fashioned, and does not make a sensation. To prove the truth of this assertion one need only take up a Saturday's paper, in which are usually advertised all the subjects of the sermons of the following Sunday. As a proof of this we give a few themes treated of in a certain city of Ohio on a recent Sabbath. The Baptists announced a discourse on "Street Labor;" a Presbyterian treated of "White Houses in Heaven;" a Methodist gave the "Approaching Cholera;" and a Congregationalist, "Live Dogs and Dead Lions." Another Methodist advertised, "How We Climbed Pike's Peak." But only one single one in fourteen gave a really Gospel theme, namely, "Man Crowned in Christ, his Redeemer;" and this, doubtless, attracted the fewest hearers.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE SUCCESS OF EVANGELISTIC EFFORTS AMONG THE FRENCH CANADIANS.—The Presbyterian Church of Canada, through the Rev. C. Chiniquy, the well-known converted priest, seems to be doing a large work among the French Catholics of the Dominion. This work, which is still spreading, has been almost entirely developed in the past ten or eleven years. In 1874 there was only one French Protestant congregation in the city of Montreal, with 17 communicants; now there are eight congregations with about 400 families, almost all of whom have come out of the Church of Rome. A comparison of the figures of the report of 1885 with those of the report for 1875 of the Board of French Evangelization of the Canada Presbyterian Church shows how fruitful a field the French Catholics form for Protestant laborers:

	1875.	1885.
Number of Fields worked.....	8	33
Number of Preaching Stations.....	12	75
Number of Church Buildings.....	3	27
Number of Ordained Missionaries.....	3	20
Number of Unordained Missionaries and Teachers.....	14	42
Number of Families connected with the Churches, about.....	200	1,091
Number of Communicants connected with the Churches, about..	220	1,138
Number of Pupils attending Mission Schools, about.....	190	707
Receipts, about.....	\$6,459	\$28,735

The number of converts the past year is almost as large as the whole French membership of 1875. Meantime many of the converts have also removed to the United States, and some have joined other Churches in the Dominion. Of the 245 new communicants received the past year 197 were French-speaking, and 48 English-speaking. In some places the services are conducted in both languages. One very encouraging feature of the work is in the attendance at Protestant schools. Says the report:

It is certainly surprising to see so many Roman Catholic families ready to send their children to Protestant schools, and especially to mission schools, where their children are constantly under the influence of religious teachings opposed to

their creed. Does not this fact show how effective has been the work of the missionaries among the people of this province, and to what extent prejudices have been removed?

Many of those who have not enough faith, courage, or light to abandon Romanism are, however, convinced that their children have nothing to lose by being placed under our religious teaching. The progress of the work has been such that, in this Province of Quebec, where the population is almost entirely Roman Catholic, we can fill up our schools with Roman Catholic children, when in other provinces, the great majority of whose inhabitants are Protestants, we could hardly find a Roman Catholic in Protestant schools or churches.

There are 21 of these mission schools, with 26 teachers and 707 scholars, of whom 223 are the children of Catholic parents, and four fifths of the remainder children of recent converts from Romanism. The report takes note of the fact, that while in the Province of Quebec the time was when the Bible was almost an unknown book among the French, to-day it is a source of great influence in every parish.

PROGRESS IN THE NEW HEBRIDES.—This group of islands used to be reckoned among the most savage and hopeless of missionary fields; but Presbyterian missionaries of Canada and Scotland have, in the course of a generation, firmly established a Christian civilization among these cannibal tribes, and every year brings notes of progress. Some of the islands have been entirely Christianized; others are in a transition state, and in some heathenism still flourishes. One of the devoted pioneers who died in the field brought about the conversion of one of the islands, and upon his monument is this inscription: "When he came here there were no Christians; when he left there were no heathen." Eleven of the islands are occupied by thirteen missionaries, representing the Scottish Free Church, the Australasian, and the Canadian Presbyterian Churches. The oldest missionary, the Rev. John G. Paton, was appointed in 1858. The central part of the group is now the most fruitful. Efate and Nguna are giving rich returns for the labor expended in the past. Tongoa is the latest island entered. A church of 12 members has been formed on it. In Efate about 70 renounced heathenism last year. Only six miles from Efate lies an island which has not yet been evangelized. Some teachers went to it with the intention of remaining over-night. They were warned, however, to leave, and told that if they stayed they would be cut to pieces, and were shown the tomahawks. In Aneityum 32 new members were received into Church fellowship. The birth rate in this island is far exceeded by the death rate. Last year there were only 47 births to 90 deaths. Civilization seems to be fatal to the savages of the South Seas as well as to the aborigines of Australia.

THE WESLEYAN MISSION IN ASHANTI RE-ESTABLISHED.—As long ago as 1839, when Ashanti was one of the most powerful nations on the West African coast, the Wesleyans undertook to establish a mission in Kumasi, but little or nothing was accomplished. Wars and difficulties of various kinds occurred to interrupt the work, and it has not been practicable to resume it until recently. Sir Garnet Wolseley destroyed the old despotism

when he sacked Kumasi in 1874, but another oppressive system rose in its place which a gradual revolution has now broken down. Province after province has revolted and set up a separate government, until the old empire, compact and powerful as it was, has become an aggregation of petty states, rejoicing in their liberty and independence. It is thought that the old order can never be restored. Under these circumstances the Wesleyan Society has deemed it wise to re-enter Ashanti, and a line of stations has been formed reaching to Kumasi in answer to earnest requests from the people of various towns. The first station is Amuafu, where the people have erected a bamboo chapel. The next is at Bekwai, a few miles distant. It was formerly one of the most important towns and provinces south of Kumasi. Says the Rev. W. Terry Coppin, of the West Coast District, who visited it recently on his way to Kumasi:

Though destroyed in the 1874 expedition it has been almost entirely rebuilt, and still wears that air of stateliness which others have remarked. The king, an amiable, pleasant, dignified, handsome fellow, has not long been upon the stool. When chosen, a little more than twelve months ago, he had to publicly and solemnly swear not only to abolish human sacrifices, but to maintain the mission. To one unacquainted with the recent changes in Ashanti this remarkable action of the people seems scarcely credible. The stability of his throne depends upon his fidelity to his oath. He gave us a state welcome, and all our interviews with him were of a most agreeable and satisfactory character. The substance of his public and official speech was this: "I like the mission. I do not mean to play with it. Having received it into my town, it is my intention to support it. Children shall be sent to the school, and people shall have liberty of worship." The mission compound the people have built for the Rev. Robert Jones, the native minister, greatly pleased me. It is more commodious than their own, and in a good situation. Of course it is built in the pure Ashanti style, namely, an open yard with surrounding apartments. These occupy three sides, and the school-chapel the fourth side of the inclosure. Doors and windows are luxuries; so the privacy of the apartments, which are perfectly open to the yard, is secured by dropping a mat screen or cloth curtain.

On leaving Bekwai I noticed several skulls, bleached white by the sun, lying on a small bank of wild vegetation. Why they were placed there I could not learn from my people, and did not care to ask the towns-people. In about an hour we reached Dongyiasi. The king having had good notice of the time of our projected visit, had called in the chiefs and their people from the villages and plantations, in order to welcome us and hear our palaver; hence there was a much greater display here than anywhere else; almost every man was in his best cloth and carrying a musket. The king sat under an immense umbrella made partly of scarlet flannel, and his chiefs sat on each side of him. Their followers ranged themselves round them, and made up a scene that was picturesque and somewhat imposing. It was a Kumasi grand reception on a small scale. Amid a deafening din of drums and gongs, horns and handbells, we went to pay our respects in the customary manner. Waving our hands to the principal personages and shaking hands with the king, we completed the round and retired to the shade of a neighboring tree. In a little while the whole assembly was in motion. As we had saluted them so they defiled before us and gave their greetings. Later on, having rested and refreshed ourselves, we had another public interview. King Dome's reply was as favorable as Karikari's at Bekwai. Before separating he said: "You have chosen us, we have chosen you, so you must not hurry away, but stay over Sunday with us." This we agreed to do. The service on Sunday afternoon, under the magnificent twin tree which stands in the main street, was deeply interesting. The king and many of his people were present. What gratified me more than any thing was the school. Between thirty and forty little Ashantis were being catechized by Mr. Hayfron. As I looked at their chubby ebony cheeks, and black,

sparkling eyes, and heard them say the Lord's Prayer and sing about Jesus in their native tongue, I thought and felt how blessed it was to know that though proud and cruel chiefs thought them to be but "mere leaves of trees, droppings of the forest," yet even these, the least of His little ones, were unspeakably precious in his sight. The school-chapel stands at the top of the spacious street, and is the most conspicuous object in the town. Plain and simple enough to a European or civilized African, it is a triumph of art to those who freely, gladly built it. Just behind it a double mission compound is being erected for the agent. Already, in addition to building the chapel and mission premises, these people, once so terrible, have contributed £8 2s. toward the agent's salary. "Verily," as a brother remarked at the missionary meeting last February, "God is beginning to reign in Ashanti." Dengyasi lies south-west of Kumasi. Having to go to Dadiasi, which lies south-east, I resolved to proceed, first to Kumasi, and from thence to Dadiasi. Anxious as I was, if possible, to resume work in Kumasi, in order to make it a base of operation for more northerly movements, yet I had little hope of accomplishing any thing in that blood-stained capital. From what I had learned their civil and political state was such that their minds were filled but with one thought, namely, how to get back their former power and riches. This proved indeed to be the case, for when our messenger who went to announce our proposed visit returned he brought a message to this effect: "The head chief is pleased to hear the white man is coming. He hopes he will stay six months, put a king on their throne, and bring the country to peace." I arrived in Kumasi on the Tuesday, and left on the Saturday. At the two interviews with the council I could not get them to talk about any thing else than their political misfortunes. If I had played the part of king-maker, and made the vain promise of using my influence to get back the revolted people, whom they enumerated one by one, they might then, as they said, have considered and taken the mission. To build, however, on such a foundation as that, even if practicable, is to build on sand. Much as they hate the conquerors of their country in their hearts, and despise the Gospel, of which they are not ignorant, yet they would use both if they could gain their political ends thereby. It was only to give them national prestige that they ever received the mission, and as soon as they saw that it began to affect their people the edict went forth that no Ashanti must become a Christian. Insufferably proud, insolent, obstinate, and untruthful, the few remaining chiefs of Kumasi will yet have to be more greatly humbled before they are willing to let the people immediately under them enjoy the blessings that are now descending upon their fellow-countrymen in other towns and provinces of Ashanti. Twelve months ago Mr. Hayfron wrote to me that half the city was already in ruins, and that, at the present rate of decline, in two or three years little more would be left than the vestiges of a few habitations to mark the site where Kumasi once stood. Since then matters have gone from bad to worse. Its young king has died, as they believe, by the power of the fetic; most of its remaining nobles have been killed in battle or by epidemics; and its very villages have refused to serve it.

At Dadiasi the people are to build a chapel and pay \$80 a year toward an agent's salary. As he left this town Mr. Coppin saw its Golgotha, an attachment which few Ashanti towns are free from. Here the people rose against the royal family and put an end to them in order to do away with human sacrifice.

BISHOP WILLIAM TAYLOR'S MISSION.—In our September number we stated that the Bishop's plan was to establish some six or eight stations with his present force. Dr. Summers had made a trip to the interior about 300 miles from the coast, and had selected sites which he deemed suitable for industrial and school stations. The Bishop and party were waiting at Loanda the return of the governor from the south before setting out for the interior. A letter from the Rev. Levin Johnson, dated

St. Paul de Loanda, July 15, two months later than the letters we spoke of in our last, has been received by the editor of the "North-western Christian Advocate," which gives the following interesting facts:

About seven weeks ago Bishop Taylor, with a force of five men, started for the interior to explore suitable places for mission stations. A letter has been received from him giving favorable reports. He wants the party to start for the interior as soon as practicable. All those assigned for the interior will leave within ten days. The Bishop stated in his letter that after a prayerful night he decided to divide the company as follows:

Loanda, C. L. Radcliff and Eli Chatclain. Nhangepepe, A. E. Withey, wife, and four children; W. H. Mead, wife, and six children; W. P. Dodson, and C. G. Rudolph. This station lies about 270 miles from the coast. Pungo Andongo, Joseph Wilks, wife, and daughter, eighty miles from Nhangepepe. Malange, S. J. Mead, wife, and niece; C. W. Gordon, and Levin Johnson. This place is situated about 400 miles from the coast, and is a principal caravan station in this part of the interior. Natives from the extreme interior come to this place with their rubber, ivory, etc. Kiok nation, probably at Casangue, C. L. Davenport and wife and M. C. M'Lean. This station is about 100 miles inland from Malange.

The past four months have indeed been a season of severe trials and patient waiting. To most of us the acclimatizing process has tended to draw us nearer the Lord—in fact, it has been a purifying furnace. Your correspondent seems to have had his share, and almost despaired of ever getting acclimatized. For about four months we had a severe siege, beginning on the vessel at Sierra Leone, and continuing for a month on the water and three months in Loanda. We thought we should have to return to America, but during the past few weeks our health has greatly improved, and we have concluded to try the interior, which they report is healthier than on the coast. At present the company seem to have a good degree of health. It seems wonderful to us that the children and the rest have been so remarkably preserved from death. Perils by sea and perils by the African fever, and yet alive and cheerful and hopeful. Truly our heavenly Father has protected us.

The party will take the steamer from Loanda up the Quanza River to Dondo, the head of navigation, a distance of over 200 miles from this place. From Dondo to the stations they will travel caravan style.

A letter from Bishop Taylor dated Nhangepepe, June 19, has been received, in which he says that Nhangepepe will be one of the most important stations. He had surveyed two thousand acres of good land for a farm. It would require, he thought, but little effort to grow food enough for the mission families. He says he wants a "dozen or two of suitable persons" to arrive in Loanda about next May, for mission work.

THE MAORIS OF NEW ZEALAND.—Fully three fourths of the New Zealand aborigines are professing Christians, of whom the great majority are connected with the Church of England. Reports to the Church Missionary Society speak, as in former years, of the decrease of the Maori population and of the scattering of their communities. Their usual avocation, digging for kauri gum, requires them to spread themselves over large districts, and usually a kaaniga whose nominal population is a hundred cannot muster more than forty or fifty during eight months in the year. The parishes of the native ministers are, therefore, large and difficult to manage, especially when it is remembered that they have to eke out their small salaries by the raising of crops. Archdeacon Clarke

says intemperance has almost disappeared from among the Maoris, but the white men are introducing horse-races, and thus tempting them both to drink and to gamble. They are also peculiarly liable to be misled by impostors. If one proclaims himself a prophet with gift of miracles or healing, he can easily draw away the unstable. Mormon missionaries have led away some of them. The Hauhau superstition caused a very large defection some years ago, but it has almost died out.

POLYGAMY AND CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.—The question of how to deal with polygamy has been a very serious one in heathen countries, where law and custom permit a husband to have more than one wife. Missionaries have almost universally required a polygamist, on being received into Church, to put away all his wives but one. In many cases this entails hardship and suffering on innocent persons. That which in heathenism most often leads to a second marriage is the failure of the first to have issue. The second wife, therefore, is often the one who has children, and she and her offspring have to be put away. The Madura mission of the American Board has recently adopted a resolution to the effect that converts who have in heathenism contracted polygamous marriages in accordance with caste laws, may, in exceptional cases, be admitted as communicants without putting away either wife. [!!!] Archdeacon Johnson, of the Niger mission of the Church Missionary Society, writes that one of the great trials of that mission is the polygamy question. Writing of Onitsha, on the upper Niger, he says:

We have had to mourn over some whose names were taken off the books on account of polygamy. By a remarkable coincidence, while we were full of the subject, and were dwelling upon it in the Bible-class room and from the pulpit, copies were received of the society's Minutes on Polygamy, drawn up by the committee in 1857. We felt our hands indirectly strengthened by them in dealing with an evil which, unless stamped out immediately by the use of strong measures, would have the tendency to affect the converts to an alarming extent. Three persons were excommunicated for being polygamists, two of them after the most moving appeals had been made to the congregation, pointing out the act to be in direct violation of the law of the Christian Church. One of these cases was peculiarly aggravating. The offender was not only a full communicant, but also a leader, district visitor, member of the Parochial Committee, and one of the appointed evangelists for Obotsi. So completely was he under the control of Satan that he would listen to no remonstrances from any one, but persevered in the step which he had taken until he had fully carried it out. His name was accordingly struck off the rolls, and he was stripped of all his offices in the Church. But, if he had any happiness at all, it was of a very short duration; for in less than a month after marriage (they were married after the native style) the second wife, for some cause or other, left him and returned to her home in the interior. He made ineffectual efforts to bring her back; at length, wearied out by her determined refusal to return to him, he made up his mind to give her up. Then it was that he felt inclined to come back to the Church and resume his former position in it. He made quite sure that he would be received with open arms, but he was soon undeceived, for I declined to re-admit or re-instate him until he had gone through the usual native form of divorce and expressed publicly his unfeigned sorrow for the offense he had given to the Church. I have determined to make it difficult for him, and those like him, to return to full membership, in order that the rest may value their privileges and be afraid to offend. The idea was current that offenders might be put out of Church for only three months;

hence there was something like a thrill of horror ran through the members when I declared the probability of some being kept out for a year or more, according to the nature of their offense and the value of the sincerity of their repentance.

The archdeacon also speaks of another case which he confesses was a "poser" to him. It was at Obotsi. One man was objected to as a candidate by the brethren because he had more than one wife.

He was one of the elderly ones, and appeared to hold a good social position. His explanation of his position is as follows: "My first wife is old and in feeble health, and as I am frequently absent on my farms, I was obliged to take a younger one, who would both attend to the sick one in my absence and prepare my food against my return from the field. Shall I put the first one away when she is old and sickly? And if I send away the younger one, who is to attend to the sick wife and look after my house? No, I regard the younger now as my real wife. I would allow the other to remain because she is old and in bad health, and requires attention." This case was a poser to me. My advice was sought, and for a time I hardly knew what to advise. At length I concluded, much against my wish, not to admit the man as a candidate for fear of establishing a precedent which might be afterward taken advantage of to an inconvenient extent. Just before baptism I brought the matter before the bishop, who distinctly advised that the man should not yet be baptized. We were all sorry for him, but felt, at the same time, that the law did not admit of a compromise.

THE OMU OF ONITSHA.—Archdeacon Johnson writes of an event at Onitsha, on the upper Niger, interesting in itself and of importance to the mission which the Church Missionary Society is maintaining in that place. One of the leading women has assumed the title of omu, or queen, of Onitsha. This title is not given to the wife of the king, nor to any of the royal family, but is hereditary, limited to a particular family, from which, however, it may be sold and transferred to another family, if the heiress elects so to do. The omu is a powerful leader, the fountain of all honor to the women, and in absolute control of the trade in which the women are engaged. No law can be passed by the king and his council affecting the rights and liberties of her sex without her approval. But the ceremony of installation is so costly that few are prepared to meet the customary expenditures. The present omu has, it seems, been preparing to assume the office for years. She was known to the missionaries as a leader in the various heathen observances, and they imagined that her powerful influence was being used adversely to the mission; but on ascending the throne she, to their surprise, declared her will and pleasure to be that hereafter every woman attend church, and that traffic cease on Sunday.

* —She showed that she was in earnest, for the very first Sunday after her coronation she came to church in state, followed by a large number of women, many of whom were noted idolatresses who had never entered the house of God before. Since then a more regular attendant we have not had than the omu. I have been credibly informed that so soon as other ceremonies shall have been gone through by her, and the appointment to subordinate offices completed, it is in her contemplation to enter into an understanding with the neighboring tribes to enforce her decrees about Sunday trading. A penalty will be attached to an infraction of the law, namely, the confiscation of every article exposed for sale by any woman of Onitsha on the Lord's day.

The mission is prosperous. Near the close of the year 83 persons were baptized, and since 1881 about 250 have received that sacrament.

A NEW MISSION IN NEGLECTED ISLANDS.—On the west coast of British Burmah and in the Sea of Bengal lie the groups known as the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. The latter are the most southerly, and are separated from the former by the Ten Degree Channel. These groups are known to most people, if at all, as penal settlements. The Andamans are the abode of a very degraded race, to whom no one has ever attempted to preach the Gospel, while the few attempts made to establish Christianity in the Nicobars have failed. Now the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has undertaken to establish missions in both groups. The Andamanese, who are not a numerous people, are said to be dying out. They are Negritos, and have no form of worship though they have religious beliefs. They believe in a Great Being, the author of all good, and in three chief evil beings, with many inferior ones. Their paradise, whither disembodied spirits go, is under the earth. It is a land of rest. Their hell, where the wicked go, is a place where bitter cold is the punishment inflicted for remedial purposes. The inhabitants of the Nicobars are of the Malay race. Several attempts have been made to evangelize them, but only the ruins of Catholic and Moravian missions remain. The climate is of a deadly character, and the people have been noted for their savagery and piracy.

THE WORK OF MISSIONARIES ON THE CONGO.—The Rev. George Grenfell, of the English Baptist mission on the Congo, has made an important expedition up the Congo and on some of its great tributaries, an account of which and of his discoveries will form an interesting feature of the geographical section of the British Association at its annual meeting in Aberdeen. He proceeded as far on the Congo as Stanley Falls, and ascended the Mobangi and Lubilash Rivers to a considerable distance. The Mobangi, which enters the Congo at a point near the equator, will probably prove to be the longest and most important of the tributaries of the great river. Mr. Grenfell ascended it to a point 400 or 450 miles from its mouth, and found it at that distance over 600 yards wide, with a mean depth of 25 feet. The current runs at the rate of from 80 to 100 feet a minute, which indicates an immense volume of water. Mr. Grenfell believes that it is the lower part of the Welle, whose course and outlet have hitherto been an African mystery. The Mobangi, Mr. Grenfell writes, is far more populous than any equal length of the Congo, and, to his mind, the country is more promising. True, the people are wild, but then his visit was that of the first white man they had seen. In ascending the river (and his wife and fifteen months old baby were on board) Mr. Grenfell met with not a few difficulties from the hostility of the natives, and had it not been for his energetic action on one occasion he and his party would probably have come to grief. His way down the river was, however, most encouraging; plenty of food, and not a sign of hostility. He hopes to make the trip again, and has no doubt that he will be able to report peaceable and friendly receptions every-where. He may also be able to penetrate farther toward the valley of the Shari, the great tributary of

Lake Chad. Unfortunately, Mr. Grenfell states, the confluence of the Mobangi with the Congo is just within French territory, though it is not so represented either on the map in Mr. Stanley's last book or on the latest map of the Royal Geographical Society. The commercial importance of Mr. Grenfell's discovery cannot be exaggerated. Whether the Mobangi is the Welle or not, it must form an important connecting link between the basin of the Congo and the basins of the Niger, the Shari, and the Nile. Mr. Stanley has always maintained that the region lying between the Congo and the Nile is probably the richest and most promising in Africa, and his belief seems likely to be amply confirmed. Besides the Mobangi, Mr. Grenfell has explored 300 miles of river-courses debouching into the Congo. The first half of Mr. Grenfell's account of his trip is printed in the August number of the "Missionary Herald," of London. At Bangala he began to see evidences of cannibalism, which he had hitherto refused to believe of the Congo peoples. But the natives in some places appeared to regard the killing and eating of human beings as a perfectly innocent and natural custom, and resented the interference of members of the expedition. Mr. Grenfell mentions nine places as suitable for stations, of which three are already occupied by the American Baptist Missionary Union.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

PROFESSOR LADD, of Yale Theological Seminary, has a noteworthy paper in the "Andover Review" for July, entitled "The Question Restated." He deals with the inspiration of the Scriptures, and maintains that "the real question about the Bible can no longer be stated or discussed as a so-called theory of inspiration. . . . The question of the inspiration of the writers of the Bible must be merged in the larger question, 'What is the Bible?'" His drift may be gathered from the following excerpts: "The Christian Church, acting in the different divisions of its ancient domain, without a fully self-conscious purpose, and yet with commendable tact and insight, distinguished in the course of its development what books it would receive into the circle of its sacred Scriptures. But this process began with assuming certain writings to be sacred which the Jewish Church had considered such. . . . It is quite impossible, then, to speak of inspiration as belonging to the Bible, that is, to a collection of several score of widely differing writings, without attributing such inspiration to the mind of the Church that collected the writings. . . . In other words, a number of diverse compositions can in no sense be ascribed to one source, unless some discrimination as to *what* composition shall enter the number be exercised by that source." This matter of inspiration thus, the writer holds, depends on the question, "What is the Bible?" This paper, very radical in some of its conclusions, is the herald of another which is soon to come.

In the same number the Rev. Edwin M. Bliss describes Kurdistan and the Kurds. The social organization of the Kurds is seen to be singularly like that of the Highland clans of Scotland. The permanence of Eastern habit and nature is seen in the declaration that the northern Kurds do not vary much from those that Xenophon described: "Brutal, ferocious, savage to the last degree," is the sentence in which Mr. Bliss portrays them. This paper is an excellent example of what missionaries can do by studies of the people. To know a people is one of the best preparations for successful missionary work. Rev. W. Forbes Cooley, in "Side Lights from Mormonism," writes wisely of the difficulties of the Mormon problem. He particularly emphasizes the little-known fact that the Mormons are not afraid of the open Bible; that they challenge contradiction and disproof from the word. All who have heard the abler Mormon preachers will bear testimony to the ability and skill with which they handle the Scriptures. And this is really one of the chief obstacles in reaching them. Much is made, also, of the contrast in the minds of foreign converts between the lines of the functionaries of the established Churches and the laborious Mormon missionaries. The writer also holds, that missions among the Mormons fail because the Mormon missionaries are really better fitted for their work than are the Christian preachers sent among them for theirs. This paper is full of matter for thought, and is startling in the force of some of its statements. The statement of "Progressive Orthodoxy" is editorially continued; and the "Atonement" is considered in this July number. With the greater part of this statement every well-trained minister of our Church will find himself familiar. In its setting forth of the extent and nature of the atonement the writer is thoroughly Arminian. He only goes beyond us in intimating, without stating, the necessity of a second probation of those who have not had opportunity for knowing God in Christ. But there is another way out of this difficulty than that of a second probation. God can save men through his Spirit, bringing to them his grace for faith and righteousness according to the light they have. Those who follow it may be accepted; those who reject it may be rejected. It only requires the admission that God will adjust his punishment to all the circumstances of each case.

The August number is not, in its contributed articles, the equal of the July. One turns from these to the editorial paper on Eschatology, in which the most interesting part is devoted to the question of the fate of those who have never heard the Gospel. The writer holds, that the condemnation of the heathen world would be a terrible impeachment of the justice of God. The writer concludes, that "God reveals himself in Christ to all men. Those who have the Gospel while in the body are in the decisive period. . . . For those who do not know God in Christ during the earthly life it seems to us probable that the knowledge they need will be given after death." Thus the "Andover" favors decidedly the doctrine of a second probation. We commend this statement of the new eschatology to the study of our ministers. It is enough now to say, that we have no need to get rid of our teachings as to the heathen by such a

supposition. The writer admits the danger of this view in a prudential sense, but shows how much more dangerous, in his opinion, it is to hold that the heathen are all lost.

The contributed articles in the September Andover are all of much interest. Rev. Samuel W. Dike continues his study of "The Religious Problem of a Country Town." This series of papers from a Vermont town show that a man of brains is strong anywhere. The editorial feature is the statement of the work of the Holy Spirit, which does not appear to be as well thought out as the papers which have preceded it.

In the July "Presbyterian Review" we note that the "Return of Jesus the Christ" has a prominent place. We have long held that there is more than one view which has scriptural support, and that no one of the accepted doctrines answers all the scriptural demands. But the Rev. A. W. Pitzer, D.D., has a definite theory which excludes the hope of converting the world, which expects good and evil to continue to the last, and which makes it the chief hope of the Christian minister to preach the Gospel as a witness without hope of converting the world, looking to Christ's return to make all things right. Dr. Briggs's "Criticism of the Revisers of the Old Testament" appears to proceed as if they were at work on a new translation.

Dr. Spaeth, in giving in the July number of the "Lutheran Church Review" a dissertation on Phebe the Deaconess, concludes his paper with an account of the institution of deaconesses as it exists in the German Church, taking the ground that its revival is a necessity in competition with the Roman Church, an opinion which is gaining ground outside the Lutheran communion. As a theological curiosity we commend the "Thesis on the Subject of Baptism and Regeneration" by D. H. Geissinger, M.D., to the careful study of our readers. It shows the severity of the bonds which are forged by the sacramentarian theology. We quote: "In the infant and the adult, the faith that renders the sacrament salutary is, as to its nature and essence, precisely the same. . . . In the infant, faith is wrought by the Holy Ghost through the sacrament itself." And much more like this: "The child, borne to Christ in the arms of believing parents or sponsors, is unable to resist the operations of the Holy Spirit which are brought into activity within it through the sacrament!" Then God's love, manifested through the Spirit, lies dormant in a child's heart until sponsors bring it to baptism!

The effort to create an American Roman Catholic literature meets with good success if the "Catholic World" be any proof. The August number leads off with a paper by Bishop Chatard on "Herbert Spencer's Enigma." The Roman bishop is a fair and strong critic of Mr. Spencer's "Doctrine of the Unknowable." In "Falsehood as a Moral Agent" a Catholic lady claims that much of the criticism of her Church is so poorly based as to be practically falsehood. Her effort, however, is to be fair,

and she writes well of the faults of her own Church in attempting to modify science and change history.

In the September number a very interesting summary of the "Teaching of Thomas Aquinas on Temperance" is given. From this it appears that he taught that "the use of wine is not in itself unlawful, nevertheless it may become unlawful under other circumstances, either from its being hurtful to the drinker, or from excess in quantity, or because it is taken in spite of a vow to the contrary, or because it is a scandal." The mediæval saint surely finds reasons enough why no one should use wine in our day. An anonymous writer in "A Protestant Hero," attempts to show that the death of Coligny was due to a mob roused to frenzy by his cruelties.

"The American Catholic Quarterly Review" for July is very able, but in its historical articles manifests the true Roman temper in defending every thing done by "Holy Mother Church." In the opening paper on "The Synthetic Philosophy of Herbert Spencer," by Rev. S. J. Ming, will be found much very acute criticism. J. G. Shea, LL.D., returns to the well-worn theme, "The Vagaries of Protestant Religious Belief." Dr. Braun, one of the foremost American theologians of the Roman Church expounds the "Catholic Doctrine of Baptism" in such a way as to increase the Protestant disgust for the adjuncts of salt, oil, and spittle which are found in the Roman ordinance. There is also in this number a very strong paper by Thomas Power O'Connor on the "Recent Crisis in England." An anonymous critic finds little good in the "Revised Translation of the Bible."

"The Baptist Quarterly Review" has passed under new management, assumes a new and beautiful dress, and manifests increased vigor. It is edited by R. S. MacArthur and Henry C. Vedder. The sketch of the development of "New England Theology," by Prof. Heman Lincoln, D.D., is of the highest order. It admits the indebtedness of the Baptists to Jonathan Edwards, through Andrew Fuller. Henry C. Vedder in this July number sets forth the reforms demanded in theological education. These reforms must begin, according to the writer, by re-enforcing the ministry with better men. His criticisms of the present theological seminary education are very caustic. Dr. Conant finds in his review of the Revision somewhat to praise and somewhat more to condemn.

The growing consensus between extreme Unitarianism and Judaism is manifested in the appearance in the August number of the "Unitarian Review" of an article by Claude G. Montefiore, entitled "A Justification of Judaism." The writer disputes the commonly accepted opinion that Judaism ceased to have close connection with the general history or thought more than eighteen centuries ago. He admits that Judaism has natural difficulties to contend with in the way of extending its teachings. He holds that just as Christianity has developed to meet modern condi-

tions, so Judaism has developed in the directions where its inadequacy is most generally set forth. He has hope that Judaism may in the future serve as a creed of reconciliation and mediation. His reasons for believing this are substantially that Judaism teaches a mean between Trinitarianism and Deism. It protests against the insufficiency of an ethic which ignores God. It is unfriendly toward dogmas which are with difficulty harmonized with reason. One of the first requisites with dogma is simplicity. Simplicity does not necessarily imply fewness in number; what it does imply is rationality and plasticity. The majority of the Jews would not regard the integrity of the Pentateuch or the advent of the Messiah as essential. To the modern Jew, God is not only the source of nature, but he is in nature. The continuity and the divinity of the world are maintained; the laws of nature, no longer accidental, flow necessarily from the single and infinite divine source, as the eternal laws of God. The paper is an exceedingly able one, and well worth attentive reading as showing the drift of modern philosophical Judaism. There is also in the same number an exceedingly well written paper, by Rev. W. R. Alger, on "Dead Tradition and Living Insight." It contains much spiritual truth, especially when it says, "that many attractive externally religious acts are often merely dramatic symbols of religion changed into mechanical substitutes for religion;" but the paper also shows the traces of that characteristic New England bigotry which will not get near enough to its religious neighbor to understand what he believes.

The September number contains the second part of Mr. Montefiore's "Justification of Judaism." It maintains the high level of the previous article. There is also a very strong refutation of Agnosticism by the Rev. Thomas Hill, D.D., under the title "The Infinite Knowable."

Our old friend "The New Englander," whose sub-title is now "The Yale Review," has a table of contents in its September number redolent of the musty days of the antique Review. Most of the articles would be as interesting at one time as another, with the exception of an attempt by Fisk P. Brewer to show that prohibition is not desirable. It is hopelessly weak, and seems written laboriously in the interest of the liquor traffic. It ignores the right of society to protect itself against the element of destruction. The article on "Protestant Vaticanism" is vigorously written, and smacks strongly of the new theology. It is evidently from the pen of one of those new theologians who believes in the liberty of dissent, but not of assent.

The "Nineteenth Century" for August contains an intelligent paper on "Aristocracy in America." It asserts that "the main source of American aristocracy is in the Senate, and there it get its chief support. The tree of aristocracy has its roots in the Senate, and the great trunk of it and the branches of it grow and flourish from unlimited taxation. The judicial branch of the American government was made exclusively aristocratic beyond any taint of popular control. The toriyism of the American

Supreme Court would comfort the soul of Lord Eldon. The American legislature is well protected by the constitution against the people. The real conflict between the antagonistic forces of the American government has hardly yet begun. It will burst into a storm when the President and the Senate, banded together in defense of prerogative, shall resist a resolute House of Representatives fresh from the people and bearing from the people a message of reform. In that contest the stopping of the supplies will be the conquering weapon, and prerogative must yield, as it had to yield in England."

In comparing the English and American Reviews one is struck by the greater fullness and painstaking of the reviewers and essayists. While our Magazines are decidedly superior to the English popular Magazines, their Reviews are decidedly superior to ours in the solidity and painstaking quality of the papers. There is a broader literary scope also in the English Reviews. For instance, the July number of the Quarterly gives a leading place to Lord Lytton's "Glenaveril," a poem which has attracted but little attention here beyond the conviction that it is not equal to "Lucille," and the general expression of the critics that it just misses the true poetic quality. But the Quarterly gives it a long notice, and makes it "a great, beautiful, and singularly original poem." The English Reviews, also, are less given to the study of the taking and the timely, though they are never without strong presentations of current questions. Thus following each other in this able Review are articles on Fenelon, the Channel Islands, Lord Macaulay, and Elijah Impey; Pitt's Foreign Policy; English Society and its Historians; the Electress Sophia; the First Christian Council; the Game Laws of England; and the Gladstone Ministry. This is a fair example of the scope of one of the great Reviews in a single number.

We greatly value the "Monthly Interpreter," edited by the Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A., and issued in this country by Scribner and Welford. We know of no greater aid to scholarly and intelligent ministers than this sterling publication. Looking back over recent issues we find the paper in the April number on the "Site of Paradise" by Canon Rawlinson. He does not seem to have heard of the New Theory which places the garden at the North Pole, but finds it in Mesopotamia. Another noticeable article is, that by the Rev. J. Barmby on the "Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews." His view of the authorship is substantially that "no man knoweth," but that it is essentially Pauline. In the July number the most noteworthy paper is by the Rev. Henry N. Bernard on "The Power of Satan—Some Thoughts on a Difficult Problem." "A Study of the Elder Brother of Prodigal," is the most attractive in the August issue.

In turning from the Reviews to Magazines one feels as if going from a musty house to a sunny and stirring out-door life. The Reviews smell of the cloister; but the Magazines are full of the life of to-day, going back to the past only to make the openness and joy of the present more vivid.

Age gives the precedence to Harper's, which keeps its well-earned place in spite of its more youthful competitors. In the number for August there are some excellent portraits of the prominent Socialists in the German Parliament. That pretty town, Southampton, L. I., has new dignity given it in being described by A. A. Hayes as "A New England Colony in New York." To those who have not traveled in England the paper on "The Characteristics of English and American Railways" will be rich in interest. Many curious facts are given in the well-illustrated paper on "The Decorative Sentiment in Birds." In both the September and October issues the first place is given to an account of Labrador by C. H. Farnham, who has explored that *terra incognita*, and has hair-breadth escapes to recount as well as topography to describe. It is not a pleasant thing to find "A Glass of Beer" so prominently described as in the article by G. Pomeroy Keese. While the paper is well written and superbly illustrated there is little hint of any sympathy with the growing conviction that while the making of beer may be a great American industry it is a great American curse. William Hamilton Gibson returns to his early love in this number with exquisite engravings of Back-Yard Weeds and Flowers in the Middle States and New England. And he writes of them as charmingly as he draws. Connecticut is given an honorable place in being awarded "The Model State Capitol." But even in this beautiful building the sham was present, as those will remember who recall the sinking pillars of the dome and the extraordinary expedient by which the crumbling of the columns was remedied. Mexican politics receive intelligent treatment at the hands of T. S. Van Dyke.

We are not disposed to underrate the services of William Lloyd Garrison to the antislavery cause, but we would that those who were ready to extinguish the Church for a supposed lack of sympathy with that cause were better informed. Colonel Higginson's sketch of the life and work of Garrison in the August Century is brilliantly written, and the account of his early life by his sons is full of interest. The portrait is the best we have ever seen, showing the kindly as well as the stern side of Mr. Garrison's nature. The war papers continue to command popular interest, and those by General Grant will be read with reverence as well as interest.

Dr. Holmes's new story in the Atlantic discusses some curious phases of mental movement and social peculiarity. The Atlantic is the strongest magazine we have in purely literary interest. It needs to be this in order to keep pace with its illustrated competitors. It seems odd that any one should gravely discuss the question, "Should a College Educate?" But Mr. E. R. Sill holds a conservative position as to the changes proposed in order to make college education more practical. He thinks that the experiment of substituting modern languages for the classics is not *educating* as many as the older method. Horace Scudder has a pleasing paper in both the September and October numbers on "Childhood in English Literature and Art." An acute reviewer holds that the chief

value of *MMaster's* second volume is as a reporter of our history rather than as an interpreter. Charles Dudley Warner's "Horseback" articles are excellent in style and of great interest in matter.

It is a great credit to our people that a technical magazine like the "Magazine of American History" should command the support it has gained. Mrs. Lamb is full of editorial tact, and is not following the Century in her war articles, but working on an independent line. These papers are fresh and strong, and in many cases supplement and improve all that has preceded them.

Italy puts on a new intellectual life with the unity and security of the institutions. We have examined several numbers of "La Nuova Scienza," a philosophic and scientific magazine, edited by Professor Enrico Caporali. Its aim is to bring before the Italian mind the best results of the German, English, and French philosophical inquiry of the last fifty years. It would appear to be strongly anticlerical, and shows traces of the inevitably skeptical movement which follows the Roman Church in those countries where its influence has been the longest felt in the paralysis of the intellect and the conscience.

The September number of the "Overland Monthly" gives large space to the memory and work of Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson. There is no doubt that in several directions she was the strongest woman America has produced. Her personality was very charming to many, having in that respect the marks of genius. The account of her last days by Mrs. Apponyi is the best we have seen concerning the passing of this talented woman from human sight. Her victory over death was complete. The Overland deserves encouragement as a fine growth in poor soil.

In Art matters the summer has not yet shown its fruitfulness. Yet "Cassell's Magazine of Art" has drawn on the treasure houses of the world to maintain its interest and enrich its readers. The August number engraves and describes several of the older London churches upon which the wanderer comes so unexpectedly in traversing London. The papers on the "River Dart" continue, and are delightfully illustrated. There is in this number a strong engraving of Waterhouse's famous picture of St. Eulalia. Those who admire Andrew Lang's dainty genius will enjoy the portrait of him after Richmond. It is in this case that the face of the man and his work agree. The frontispiece of the September is after Alma Tadema's meaningless picture, "Who Is It?" which has the fatal fault of not telling its own story. Kaubach's picture of "Unvalued Liberty," as here engraved, is charming. "The Old London Doorways" show that we had better return to the old paths. The picture by Audley Mackworth, "It is the Lord," is very strong, as is that of the "Secret," by Blair Leighton. The leading place in the October number is given to Arnold Böcklin and his work. The picture of "A Sea Idyl" is powerful but repulsive, and is not in the least idyllic. Those who have seen

Granada will be delighted with the engravings in the article describing that city. Raphael Sorbi's "Chloris" gives great pleasure. The Current Art Series presents the "Juliet" of Von Haanen, which succeeds in making death if not attractive at least not repulsive. Those who enjoy the weird power of Whistler will do well to study the portrait of the violinist Paolo Sarasate. There is art in the suppression of the figure for the sake of bringing out the man and the violinist.

"The Art Journal" (J. S. Virtue & Co., London) shows great editorial tact in its selections of the engravings and etchings which form the frontispiece of this charming publication. "The Reverie," by Marcus Stone, is delightful. London Club life has never been better described than in the series of articles which is now being published in this Journal. "An Old Coach Road," will explain to those who have not seen England why the old land is so delightful to Americans. The September number engraves on steel "The Evening Hour" of R. W. Leader. The first place is given to the work of our countryman John La Farge. But by far the best of the etchings which have reached the public through this Journal is that in the October number. It is by Dulduc after Jimenez y Aranda. It shows "A Public Letter Writer at Seville," who has stepped out into the sunlight to mend his quill pen. It is delightful in all respects. Both these periodicals are so good that we welcome their coming to an office which is supposed to be most interested in the graver topics.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Prophecies of Isaiah: A New Translation, with Commentary and Appendices. By Rev. T. K. CHEYNE, M.A., Late Fellow of Baliol College, Oxford, etc. Two volumes, bound in one. Third Edition. 8vo, pp. 310, 317. New York: Thomas Whittaker. Price, \$4.

Cheyne's Isaiah is at once among the very best of its kind and also an illustration of the incompleteness, as to results, of the critical and exegetical examination and interpretation of the books of the Old Testament, of which perhaps this prophecy (or "prophecies") is not only among the most valuable portions, but also the best understood. And yet even this can as yet be treated only tentatively, and often explained simply hypothetically. The first edition was issued in 1880, and the second, very considerably changed, in 1882; and two years later came the present edition, still further modified. And now the author gives notice that he by no means supposes that this is to be the end of the matter.

The author's position is that of a liberal and rational (not *rationalistic*) student seeking to find out and set forth the real import of the remarkable book in hand, the canonical Isaiah. He comes to his work as a learner,

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bringing with him his original preconceptions, which he finds no sufficient reason to lay aside, in respect to its genuineness and inspiration, and its true prophetic character. But by the use of the better methods of Bible study now in use, he has been brought to feel that as a whole the older, the "traditional," interpretation of this book cannot meet the requirements of the case, though some of the older writers among them, especially Vitringa, made valuable contributions to its proper elucidation. Hengstenberg may be said to have inaugurated the better method, and Alexander, by a very liberal use and appreciation of his matter, produced a much better commentary on Isaiah than any of the earlier ones, at least in our language. But as Hengstenberg discussed only its Christology, a thorough elucidation of the book remained a desideratum, which still waits to be supplied. Something in that direction is attempted in this work, but rather as contributions toward more complete and satisfactory inquiries than as any thing final. In the preface to the first edition the author wrote: "It appears to the author that a more thorough exegesis must (in England and America) precede the fruitful investigation of critical problems. . . . If it is a fact that exegetical phenomena are conflicting, let it be fairly represented as such; the final critical solution will have to take account of all the data of the problem." In the preface to this latest edition, he writes hopefully, though still recognizing great needs of something better: "The prospects of Old Testament study in England are more hopeful now than when I first began to write. Free and reverent investigation is at least sincerely tolerated, though within my own range of observation it has not received much countenance from the authorities. We have still to live in hope." But the day dawns.

The author fully and cordially accepts Isaiah as a divinely inspired teacher, who, while treating chiefly of the affairs of his own times, also prophesied of Christ's coming and kingdom, and he concludes that the book is deserving of the high place assigned it among the books of the Old Testament. The question, whether or not the last twenty-seven chapters (xl-lxvi) were written by the same hand with those that precede them, he holds to be not yet satisfactorily determined; perhaps he leans more than most modern critics to the traditional opinion that the whole book has a common authorship. The commentary is a good one for students, and all who are able to hold their convictions in suspense; but the outcome thus far is not final.

A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. By JOSEPH AGAR BEET. 12mo, pp. 232. New York: Thomas Whittaker, Bible House.

The author of this work, which is one of a series of five volumes, of which two—one on Romans and one on First and Second Corinthians—have before appeared, and two more—one on the epistles of the "Imprisonment," and one on the Pastoral Epistles and First and Second Thessalonians—are to follow—are said to be the work of a Wesleyan minister who is also actively engaged in his regular ministerial duties. These volumes have been recognized by competent biblical scholars as presenting a valuable

mass of learned critical and exegetical discussions, at once clear, forcible, and eminently evangelical. Though every thing at all savoring of pedantry and all display of learning, whenever not really necessary, seems to have been studiously avoided, the Commentary is evidently the fruit of a broad and deep scholarship, of which, however, the results rather than the processes are given. Very little minute textual criticism appears, for which omission some compensation is offered in a strictly literal Greek-English version of the text. In addition to the detailed exposition of the text there are appended at the end of the volume eight elaborate dissertations, discussing the relations of Paul's teachings to that of the other apostolic writers, the date of the epistle, its presentation of the doctrine of justification by faith and its use, and the doctrinal import of the phrase "The Cross of Christ;" and finally, a summary of the contents of the epistle—the whole that is taught in and by it.

The relations of Paul to the other apostles and to the Church at Jerusalem, and of his doctrine and the form of his evangelism, have of late received a large share of attention, and to that discussion this Commentary is a valuable contribution, which, by its well-considered and ably presented conclusions, will go very far to counterwork the influence of such writings as the volume of the Hibbert Lectures noticed by us in a former number. No doubt there were incidental differences in the presentation of the great truths of Christianity by the several apostles, which were partly the results of the mental peculiarities of each; but beyond all that there are pretty clear evidences of different and somewhat inharmonious schools of thought—indications of which may be seen by comparing the Epistle to the Galatians with that of James. But there are nowhere found such discrepancies as amount to any real opposition. The evangelical doctrines of Paul are happily complemented by the ethical teachings of James, while Peter and John blend both sides in a beautiful harmony. There is also pretty clear evidence of the existence of an extreme Judaizing party at Jerusalem, who, while claiming to be Christian, were essentially Jewish of the narrowest Pharisaic type, and these were intensely scandalized by Paul's characteristic doctrine of justification by faith. But there is no proof that any of the apostles was of that class, and these opposers being only Jews, they perished as a party with the destruction of Jerusalem. This whole subject is very satisfactorily presented in this volume. We are glad that this exceedingly valuable Commentary has found an American publisher, who, we trust, will be duly compensated for his enterprise and good taste in bringing out the work in a style so attractive.

Christian Thought. Lectures and Papers on Philosophy, Christian Evidences, Biblical Elucidations. Second Series. Edited by CHARLES F. DEEMS, LL.D., President of the American Institute of Christian Philosophy. New York: Phillips & Sons.

The bound volume of the periodical issued under the auspices of the Society of which Dr. Deems is the president. Many of the papers were read at the meetings of the Society. Most of them are able.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Isaac W. Wiley, late Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. A Monograph. Edited by RICHARD S. RUST, D.D., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 233. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Our Episcopal necrology grows apace, as in somewhat rapid succession our Bishops are taken away by death; and it is only the right thing that after his decease the memoirs of each should be duly collected and perpetuated. These biographies will be among the most available materials out of which the history of our period of the Church will at some time be constructed. For a little more than twelve years Bishop Wiley filled the episcopal office, both ably and satisfactorily, and then he was cut off in what it seemed should have been the meridian of his manhood. He also brought to his last high office a previous history of unusual interest, in achieving which he became fitted for his last and greatest work—which earlier history it is well to have properly recorded.

The plan of this memoir—a "Monograph"—yet made up of many parts, is the bringing together twelve distinct and independent essays, by as many different writers, each relating to some portion of the history of their common subject, or some special phase of his character. Dr. Buttz treats of his "Early Life and Ministry;" Dr. E. Wentworth, of his "Mission Life" (in China); Dr. W. V. Kelley as "The Educator;" Bishop Walden tells of him as an "Editor and Author," and Bishop Merrill as "The Bishop;" Professor Townsend gives recollections of his "Residence in New England," and Dr. Rust of his relations with the "Freedmen's Aid Society;" Dr. M. W. Taylor contemplates him as a "Philanthropist," and Professor S. W. Williams as to his "Literary Character;" Dr. Buckley writes of him as "The Orator," and Dr. Joyce as "The Man." After these we have a chapter devoted to "Closing Scenes" (his death and burial in China), and another giving accounts of memorial services held in several places; and next a selection of editorial sketches and estimates of his character, made on the occasion of his decease. Last of all, we have a report of the remarkable prayer offered by him at the close of the last General Conference, now the more memorable because it was the last time that his voice was to be heard in the great convocation of the Church. Altogether, the book is a work of real value, and in preparing it Dr. Rust has earned the thanks not only of the friends of the deceased Bishop, but equally so of the whole Church.

Centenary Cameos, 1784-1884. By O. P. FITZGERALD, D.D., Editor of Nashville Christian Advocate. 8vo, pp. 350. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

Brief sketches and characterizations of more than forty Methodist celebrities—men and women—from John Wesley to Margaret Lavinia Kelley, eulogistic and moderately laudatory, with thirty-one portraits. The first half are European, nearly all of them of the eighteenth century. About half of the other half belong to American Methodism before the Southern

"separation," and the balance to the "Church South," except only Dr. T. H. Stockton, of the Protestant Methodist Church. Those of the first and second sections are old stagers in Methodist biography; and among the last are some names that suggest to this writer thoughts of other days. Hope Hull is a familiar name, not chiefly because we have seen it in the original Methodist roll of honor, but especially since two of his sons were official members in the Church at Athens, our first pastorate, forty-four years ago. William Capers at that time resided at Oxford, Ga.,—he was Missionary Secretary—and showed much kindness to his younger brother. And Samuel Anthony was a combination of the two Johns, the Baptizer and him who leaned on the Master's breast at the Supper. He was a rare man, and the sketch is equally just and appreciative. The book, naturally a duodecimo, is metamorphosed into an octavo by setting the reading matter in marginal lines, and then giving broad margins beyond. The plan is not a bad one.

A Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago. A Narrative of Travel and Exploration from 1878 to 1883. By HENRY E. FORBES, F.R.G.S., etc. With numerous Illustrations from the Author's Sketches, and Descriptions by Mr. John B. Gibbs. 8vo, pp. 536. New York: Harper & Brothers.

It is still emphatically true that "there remaineth yet very much land to be possessed," both by the scientist and the missionary, even should the sword of the conqueror be stayed in deference to the better civilization of the age. The Eastern Archipelago was explored, not very long ago, by Mr. A. R. Wallace, and the results of his examinations were happily set forth in his "Malay Archipelago" (Harper & Brothers, 1870), so that Mr. Forbes's field was not an entirely new one, though large parts of it were quite unknown to the learned world. As a naturalist he seems to have directed his attention chiefly to biological subjects, plants and animals, and more especially to those of the dry land; and here he had an unharvested field in which to operate, and which he did not fail to occupy. He also makes valuable contributions to the geographical knowledge of these islands, with their geology and climatology. As a book of travels simply, it is a highly entertaining sketch of strange scenes and unknown peoples.

The Two Hundredth Birthday of Bishop George Berkeley. A Discourse given at Yale College on the 12th of March, 1885. By NOAH PORTER. 8vo, pp. 84. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

It was becoming that Yale College should celebrate the Bicentennial of Bishop Berkeley, and President Porter certainly did his work in a becoming manner; and now the publishers have brought out the address, with notes in a style worthy of the subject and the matter. Dr. Porter evidently felt a very lively and kindly interest in his renowned subject, both as a man and a philosopher, though it has been the fashion with some who were quite incapable of appreciating Berkeley's philosophy to speak slightly of both the man and his works; but those who better understand the case are aware that he has been a principal factor in shaping the

forms and conceptions of the thought of the age. And besides his fame as an idealist, he was also a Christian philanthropist of the most generous kind, and a poet—not much of a versifier, but richly endowed with the imagination and the fancy that constitute the real basis of poetry; and his love for our western world should endear his memory to the American people. This book is valuable as a memorial of a genius, and a tribute to the good name of an altogether worthy man.

POLITICS, LAW, AND GENERAL MORALS.

Principles of Political Economy. By SIMON NEWCOMB, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor in the Johns-Hopkins University, etc. 8vo, pp. 543. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The manifest drift of the public mind toward questions of finance, especially in their relations to different classes of persons, cannot fail to give new interest to the study of Political Economy, a study which, however valuable to all who really master it, has often proved alike unsatisfactory and misleading. Professor Newcomb's treatment of the subject is exceptionally clear and able; and any who will carefully consider his facts and manifest deductions, though his theories may not be accepted, will be the better enabled to form right conclusions. In matters of public and social economy, just as in respect to hygiene, and even public and private morals, men's actions are often better than their theories, and their notions are often rooted in thorough convictions for which no formal reason can be given. A careful reading of this volume will show good and sufficient reasons for many things in men's "common sense" belief, and also correct some gross and palpable errors.

LITERATURE AND FICTION.

Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life Among the Lowly. By HARRIET BEECHER STOWE. New Edition. With an Introductory Account of the Work by the Author. One volume, 12mo, pp. 500. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.

This certainly is not a new publication, and yet it is not a resurrection, for the work has not been dead; nor a reprint, for it has never been out of print. Still, as here presented, it is something new. The substance of the story is unchanged, which is well—for any possible change would be for the worse.

The copious introductory matter is new, and yet even that contains but little that was not before generally understood. The account of the origin and genesis of the book, as here given, is a record which, with those to whom it will not be new, will bear repeating, but to the younger half of those now living—having grown up since the work was written—or after they have passed away from the impression of its first appearance, it will prove a peculiarly interesting chapter of both literary and general

history. Perhaps no other book, in any age or country—certainly none in modern times—has so entered into the life of the age, or made so large and so conspicuous a contribution to its current literature. Nor has any other book been translated into so many different languages, nor been so generally and widely read; and though by one class it is remembered as the companion of their youth, and by another it is recognized as a relic of the past, whose purposes have become accomplished facts, by the former it will be read as a pleasant reminder of other days, and by the latter as the agency that aided to bring about some of the most remarkable events of the near past, which also belong to the present.

The insertion in the Introduction of Mrs. Stowe's correspondence with many distinguished men and women in Europe, during the first years after the publication of "*Uncle Tom*," and the account of the ovation which she received when a few years later she went abroad in person, is certainly a pardonable expression of gratified vanity. The hero of such victories as she had won has the right to

"Shoulder his [her] crutch and show how fields were won."

The references to some things experienced by some of the antislavery pioneers, though certainly when suffered they were not joyous, are not altogether unpleasant reminiscences to those at a safe distance; but very different are the feelings awakened by the remembrance of the truculent insolence of the minions of the slave-power on the one hand, and on the other, the contemptible moral cowardice of politicians and churchmen, and still worse of merchants and traders, throughout the free States, who seemed to be more than willing to lie down and be trodden upon. It is well, perhaps, that such meanness of spirit should not be remembered beyond the age that witnessed it, since wherever known it must be a blot upon human nature.

It is often a matter of lively interest to find out and identify the living originals of the persons and incidents that figure in works of fiction, and in this Introduction there are given several instances of this kind. Some of these have been heretofore correctly understood, while others have been less correctly or only very partially interpreted. "*Uncle Tom*," we are assured, was largely a creation, or rather the character was constructed from materials gathered from a variety of sources, to which, however, "*Father Henson*" made only slight contributions. The ideal of the old hero might, however, be found more fully realized in actual examples among the southern slaves than some others that are drawn out in the story. A personal acquaintance with slaves and slavery, in its own habitat, and when in its most complete ascendancy, though clearly attesting the low moral status of the slaves, disclosed, also, two admirable classes among them. One of these consisted of men usually past middle life, devotedly religious, honest, and incorruptible in morals—to that class *Uncle Tom* belonged; the other, less numerous, consisted of young women—often personal servants or trusted housekeepers, in many cases somewhat educated, and often cultured by constant contact with good

society. Such persons were often considered rich prizes for sporting characters and the scions of the "best families;" and the few that escaped unscathed—"so as by fire"—were heroines of virtuous purity. No one of the female characters of the story quite answers to this ideal, but its realization seems to have been approximated by the "Edmunds girls," whose case is referred to by Mrs. Stowe in her "Introduction," and whose rescue, in 1851, from the slave-trader's pen at Alexandria, through which it was intended that they should pass to lives of infamy in the far South, this writer helped to effectuate. But this could be brought about only by "a great ransom;" for the rescuers were told by the astute dealers in bodies and souls that such accomplished "property" would command fabulous prices in New Orleans.

No doubt Mrs. Stowe's world-renowned fiction was an effective agency in bringing about the overthrow of slavery—not, indeed, that either she or any of her collaborators ever even suggested any practical method for the accomplishment of the desired work; but they aroused the conscience of the nation, and helped to create a public opinion which impelled the heart of the people to demand the removal of the curse, and which added the needed moral element to render it effective when it had been legally proclaimed. So thoroughly was slavery wrought into the national organism that its removal seemed impossible; but that it might be destroyed its protectors were made mad, and so the very means resorted to for its perpetuation were those by which its destruction was accomplished.

The re-reading of "Uncle Tom" may be not without its practical utility in these times. There are still gigantic political, social, and moral curses among us, some of them quite as fearful and corrupting in their influences as was slavery—protected by the laws, winked at by society, and passed over with only faint rebukes by the Church—and for the abatement and removal of these a race of heroes and martyrs may still be needed. This new edition of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is therefore not untimely, and it may be hoped that it will be widely read, and that it may stimulate some to heroic endeavors against the great evils that still corrupt and oppress society.

Elijah the Reformer: A Ballad-Epic; and Other Sacred and Religious Poems. By GEORGE LANSING TAYLOR, D.D. Square 12mo, pp. 281. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Here we have, first of all, a decidedly goodly volume—a piece of workmanship highly creditable to all who had part in its production—publishers, editor, compositors, proof-readers, and binders. The work is thoroughly well done, and the book is pleasant to look upon and easy to read. But to do it justice as a literary and artistic production is not an easy task. Its principal piece is well described by its title, "A Ballad-Epic," for it combines very successfully the characteristics of the two forms of composition. It is no doubt specifically a *ballad*, having all the features and essential properties of that species of poetry. And yet it is so much more of a thing than ballads usually are that it seems to deserve a higher

name, and by reason of its enlarged features it approximates the character of an epic. The story is simply that of the Tishbite prophet, himself a mystery, even more undetermined than Melchizedek or the man of Uz, and yet among the fiercest, most heroic names in all literature, ancient or modern, sacred or profane; but, as usual, the crowning excellence of the story is in the telling. The frame-work of the ballad is taken from the Old Testament, but the epic elements, in which the poetical characteristics especially appear, are the writer's own conceptions, and as he, the subject, stands forth in their setting he is seen as a veritable hero. This simple and most realistic presentation of a grand career naturally assumes the character of a drama.

Dr. Taylor is a poet only because he cannot help it, and what he writes is out of the fullness of his heart, and of the spontaneity of his imagination. And yet his productions are much more than momentary effusions, and as here seen they are manifestly growths, and the accretions of well-considered thoughts. The poetical imagery and the forms of the versification are evidently the outcome of a large amount of severe critical consideration exercised during many successive years; and in these it will be found that the hand of a master has been at work. The minor poems, which together constitute much the greater part of the volume, quite as fully and advantageously illustrate these qualities as does the principal one. Most of them are also based upon Scripture scenes and incidents, and in them are found some of the finest gems; and without any offensive sameness of manner, there is still a remarkable uniformity of sentiment and purpose running through the whole. Every-where is seen the same reverent spirit and abiding trust in God and the right, of hopefulness and of hearty detestation of shams and hypocrisies. Written while the conflict against legalized oppression was still in power, or while rebellion was raising its bloody hand in defense of oppression, many of these poems have all the qualities of battle-cries or pæans of victory. To the poet's conception Elijah was specifically a *Reformer*, and a prince and pattern of those who have dared and suffered for the cause of righteousness. A fine enunciation of this is given in some of the closing lines of the Epilogue of the "Ballad-Epic," of which we subjoin a quatrain:

"All heaven-born hero-souls are God's torch-bearers for mankind;
But brightest they who most have caught his own all-kindling mind.
From Calvary's height Redemption's light shall shine o'er earth abroad,
But no true soul, from pole to pole, e'er cried in vain to God."

Of the multitude of poetical productions elicited by the death of General Grant we give the first place, without hesitation, to Dr. G. L. Taylor's "Elegy on Grant—Patriot, Conqueror, Hero," which Funk & Wagnalls have brought out in a style worthy of the production and its subject, in a demi-octavo of thirty pages, beautifully printed on fine paper. The poem is of a high order of excellence, at once spirited and tender, graphic and dramatic—about the best thing that its author has ever written.

City Ballads. By WILL CARLETON, Author of "Farm Ballads," etc. Illustrated. 4to, pp. 180. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Will Carleton is certainly a genius, of which fact he was probably at first not aware. But he knows it now; and though evidently careful to maintain his original character and manners—in which endeavor he does not entirely fail—he nevertheless betrays his self-consciousness, and he is no longer the wild bird of the prairies that once sang so sadly and naturally in "Betsy and I," and "Over the Hills to the Poor-House." In this changed state of mind, of which change, probably, he is less cognizant than his readers, he comes to deal with a new and widely different class of subjects in his "City Ballads." While still retaining much of his original individuality, he shows very considerable modifications of both thought and manner. He has wisely laid aside most of his provincialisms, and corrected his orthography and syntax, but retains a good share of the quaint naturalness of his earlier productions. In the city he is brought into conflict with new aspects of men and manners, and with phases of society not much spoken of in his former writings; and though he does not succeed in solving all the social problems of the city, he still writes like a sensible man.

Poems: Together with "Brother Jacob," and "The Lifted Vail." By GEORGE ELIOT. Harper's Library Edition. 12mo, pp. 380. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Writers who are real geniuses are not always the best judges in respect to their own strong points, and of this George Eliot's estimate of her own poetry is an example. Had she been only a poet she would have taken a not especially conspicuous place in the great company of second and third class rhymers, of whom publishers fight shy, and in respect to whom readers use their liberty to turn the leaves and then consign the volume to the high shelves of the book-case. The present volume, with its diverse materials, seems to have been made up of the remnants, in order to complete the edition of the author's works; and as completeness is especially desirable in making up a library, this final volume will be acceptable without regard to its contents.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Epworth Hymnal: Containing Standard Hymns of the Church; Songs for the Sunday-school; Songs for Social Services; Songs for the Home Circle; Songs for Special Occasions. 8vo, pp. 232. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

How to provide for the minor song services and the less formal exercises of social worship and the Sunday-school and other special occasions has long been found a perplexity and a puzzle. A great many attempts have been made to solve the difficulty, by providing manuals of hymns and music, until publications of that kind have become like the frogs in

Egypt, very many and very discordant. But the want was felt to be a pressing one, and so the late General Conference provided for the compilation of a collection of hymns and tunes which, it was hoped, like the serpent made from Aaron's rod which swallowed up the whole hissing group made from the rods of the magicians, would effectually banish and supersede all others. The outcome of that initial action is now before us in the "Epworth Hymnal"—a fancy name which Editor Vincent thinks is happily chosen—a goodly volume, not too large, with 319 pieces—words and music—well put up, and generally presenting an inviting appearance. In considering the matter of the book, it is necessarily compared with others that have been offered to fill the place for which this is intended; and here it may be said that it very easily outdoes even the best of them. The first hundred pieces—words and music—are in fact a collection of real hymns, well adapted for worship, on an average a little lighter than the first hundred in the "Hymnal," but chiefly grave and sensible pieces. After these come a lighter and more jingling selection, but still not much deformed or desecrated by the kind of material that is often found in the popular quasi-religious song-books. The authors drawn upon for this class of hymns constitute a wide range, with a decided inclination to modern mediocrity—among whom the blind poetess Fanny Crosby seems to have been the favorite. It was probably to that class the editor referred when he wrote, "The severest criticism might point out slight defects in them, which, although sufficient to exclude them from the classic lists, do not justify their omission in a book 'for the people.'" It may be hoped therefore that "the people" will appreciate them, notwithstanding the left-handed compliment with which they are offered. We are free to say that the book is better than any other of its class that we have seen, and therefore we hope that it may, as soon as may be, supersede all others in our Sunday-schools and prayer-meetings.

The Writings and Speeches of Samuel J. Tilden. Edited by JOHN BIGELOW. In Two Volumes. 8vo, pp. 606, 601. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Works of this class, though they are not likely to be widely read, still have their value, not only as historical records, but also for purposes of education, for among those who read such books are the fashioners of the affairs of the nation. Mr. Tilden's career was protracted and moderately eventful, even before the transactions that have given his name a prominent and a permanent place in the political history of the country. He was at once an able lawyer, a statesman of fair abilities, a successful man of business, and an astute (some would say unscrupulous) political partisan; and at the culmination of his career he was suddenly and strangely (his friends say unrighteously) balked of the long-sought prize just as it seemed to be in his grasp.

Mr. Tilden contributed largely to the political discussions of his times, and, though his reputation was for the most part that of a partisan rather than of a statesman, still he was not destitute of decided convictions, and perhaps he more frequently dictated the policy of his party than

simply adopted the opinions that were brought to him. It will not be denied that he was not in harmony with the thought that dominated in the nation during the double decade 1860-80, and that the wonderful political revolution accomplished in those years was effected, not by his help, but in spite of his earnest disfavor; and it is quite evident that his "politics" are quite as thoroughly superseded in the nation—no matter what the party in power—as is he himself retired from all public action. And the events actually accomplished in the progress of that revolution make it impossible that it ever shall be reversed. The doctrines of State sovereignty and of class distinctions before the law were buried in the same grave with African slavery, with men of Mr. Tilden's class for chief mourners.

As it was said respecting the succession to the throne of England at the demise of Henry VIII., that no human wisdom could determine who was the legal sovereign, so, after the Presidential election of November, 1876, it was impossible to say who had been chosen. It would have been very easy to count Mr. Tilden in by construing only a few of the disputed cases in his favor, but the same rule that would reject any one of them must reject them all, and so leave Mr. Hayes the legally elected President. But while there was room for doubt as to the technical legality of the cases at issue, there could be none as to what was the popular will, and what would have been the issue had there been a "free ballot and a fair count." No doubt the people's choice prevailed, though the processes by which the result was reached were strangely irregular. The unedifying attempts that were made to overcome the very narrow majority of the Republican candidate were, to the last degree, discreditable to those who were concerned in them; but the fact that no chosen elector could be corrupted speaks well for the integrity of those trusted public servants.

We are glad that these volumes have been compiled and printed—they constitute a part of the documentary history of the country—and that the editorial work has fallen into such able hands; for though they are wholly one-sided and intensely partisan, yet they belong to the nation's annals and should be preserved.

Initial Life; or, the Lost Principle Restored. By Rev. L. ROSSER, D.D., of the Virginia Conference (M. E. Church, South). 12mo, pp. 288. Nashville, Tennessee: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

Rev. Leo. Rosser is a character—a figure not to be separated from the goodly company of Virginia Methodists of the latter half of the first Methodist century. Half a century ago he and this writer sat upon the same benches, and together conjugated Latin verbs and extracted Greek roots. Since then we have not often met, but he has succeeded in keeping himself in sight, somewhat as a writer, but more especially as an evangelicalist pulpit orator, for which he early displayed manifest adaptations. And now there comes to hand a volume bearing his name, containing a re-statement and discussion of some of the deepest moral and religious problems. Accepting as true the scriptural and rational doctrine of "total depravity" as an inheritance from the first Adam, he finds this

complemented and balanced by the favor of the Second Adam, who is to all men more than provisionally a Redeemer, being truly and already in fact a "quickening Spirit." Through Christ all men are made alive, and in this "initial life" they are to perform their probation. This point is certainly happily taken, for although not new, yet its consideration helps to a better understanding of certain related truths of the highest value. In this are seen the subjective provisions in every man for the exercise of faith and hope, the grounds of moral obligation, and the power of free will, on which rests moral responsibility. These thoughts are well stated, though the methods of argumentation are not always beyond criticism as over-drawn, and, perhaps, sometimes resting much more in the forms of rhetoric than the substance of logic. The book presents a well-thought-out line of argumentation, showing that the writer's "natural force" is not abated by the lapse of time, and the conclusions reached are at once practically valuable and highly consolatory.

Eight Studies on the Lord's Day. 12mo, pp. 292. New York: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.

The Sabbath: Its Permanence, Promise, and Defense. By W. W. EVERTS, D.D. 12mo, pp. 278. New York: E. B. Treat.

If our American Sabbath is—as some boast and some desponding ones fear—to be swept away by the overflowings of liberalism and lager-beer, it is also quite evident that the victory is not to be won without a conflict; and the two volumes above named will, each in its way, contribute to the maintenance and defense of the "old paths." The former was first printed a few years ago for private circulation, and is now given to the public on the recommendation of those by whom it has been read. The second is by a well-known and justly-esteemed writer, who proposes to build a fence about the sacred institution, bringing his materials from God's word and the experience of the ages. The lover of God's Holy Day will find in the volumes a treasury of thought with which to strengthen and fortify his own sacred regard for the Sabbath, and a store-house from which to draw arguments for the overthrow of its foes.

Mental Science. A Text-Book for Schools and Colleges. By EDWARD JOHN HAMILTON, D.D., Professor of Intellectual Philosophy in Hamilton College. 12mo, pp. 416. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

A college text-book is not designed to set forth original truths or thinkings, but to summarize facts and principles already clearly ascertained. Its special excellence is, therefore, much less in its matter than in its methods. The science of mental philosophy is very largely affected as to its forms by the conceptions of its teachers, and nearly every one has his own methods and system. Dr. Hamilton gives us the results of his professional studies and labors, which, inspired and enforced by his own personality, would, no doubt, become eminently available as a text-book; without his presence, though profoundly learned, it would be likely to prove unsatisfactory.

The Old and the New Man ; or, Sin and Salvation. By Rev. ANSON WEST, D.D., of the North Alabama Conference. 12mo, pp. 335. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

In his preface the author of this volume assumes that its subject and matter are indicated by its title, which, though true as to themes discussed and the opinions advanced, is not correct as to its details and its determinations respecting the subjects in hand. It is designed to restate in clear and unmistakable language the great fundamental doctrines set forth in the old Methodist standards and formerly preached from the Methodist pulpit, and only there. And in the statement and exposition of these doctrines the author is led to discuss the errors of Calvinism on the one hand, and on the other Pelagianism in its uncounted varieties, verging out into Arianism, Universalism, and Socinianism. Though not an elaborate theological treatise, it is a valuable and available hand-book of the first truths in religion.

The Boy's Book of Battle Lyrics. A Collection of Verses Illustrating some Notable Events in the History of the United States of America, from the Colonial Period to the Outbreak of the Sectional War. By THOMAS DUNN ENGLISH, M.D., LL.D. With historical notes and numerous engravings of persons, scenes, and places. 8vo, pp. 168. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The battle-ballad is not an elevated style of poetry, and yet it has so much of fascination for some minds that books of this kind will not be likely to want readers. Those that make up this volume are poetically better than the average of their class, and with the accompanying historical sketch they constitute an illustrated gallery of battle scenes and incidents among the best of their kind.

The Franklin Square Song Collection, No. 3. Containing Two Hundred Favorite Songs and Hymns. 8vo, pp. 176. New York: Harper & Brothers.

With those who have been acquainted with the earlier numbers of this series, the title of this collection will be its sufficient introduction; and though the field had been twice reaped, the gleanings have been quite equal to the harvesting. Some of the very best of our popular religious lyrics are here given, and not a few of the well known patriotic and secular pieces, and all of them have been chosen with excellent taste.

A Happy Life. By ALFRED WITHERBY, Author of "The Hand in the Dark." 18mo, pp. 227. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Under the form of fiction an object-lesson in personal goodness is here given. "The narrative here given," writes the author in his preface, "is that of a possible life, where goodness in suffering as well as goodness in doing God's will is made useful to others." It is a good and wholesome book.

Communion Memories. The Record of Some Sacramental Sundays; with Meditations, Addresses, and Prayers, suited for the Lord's Table. Including an Introduction and Historical Appendix. By J. R. MACDUFF, D.D., Author of "Palms of Elim," etc. 12mo, pp. 253. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

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Wanderings on Parnassus. Poems. By J. HAZARD HARTZELL. 12mo, pp. 228. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

The author of these poems is an Episcopal clergyman of Detroit, and is especially known to the public as a brilliant and effective lecturer. The poems that make up this volume are all of them brief lyrics, seldom more than a hundred lines; sometimes sketches from nature, and sometimes gentle sentimental musings. The versification is fairly good, with occasional touches of real poetry. The book is dedicated to the author's children, at whose "earnest request," he tells us, they "have been arranged and published." They are quite worthy of so much appreciation, though probably the great world will take but little note of them.

Hand-Book of Logic. A Concise Body of Logical Doctrine, including Modern Additions with Numerous Practical Exercises. By Rev. JNO. J. TIGERT, M.A., Instructor in Moral Philosophy in Vanderbilt University. 12mo, pp. 314. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

Logic is both a science and an art, though usually treated almost exclusively in the latter aspect, and where so treated the excellence of the work is proportioned to its comprehensiveness and the clearness of its statements and definitions. In all these things this work answers very satisfactorily to the requirements of the case.

Alone with God. Studies and Meditations in a Sick-Room. By Rev. JOSEPH CROSS, D.D., LL.D., Author of "Evangel," etc. 12mo, pp. 324. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

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